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The Week

IN our negotiations with Mexico "we have been unable to get anywhere," said one of the American Commissioners. But it is decidedly getting somewhere when peace is maintained between the United States and Mexico. The essence of the problem from the beginning has been how to prevent the two nations from drifting into conflict against their will. In Mexico a progressive democratic movement has been working itself out, slowly and painfully, but steadily. In this country there has been overwhelming sympathy with the new forces that are expressing themselves south of the Rio Grande. If nevertheless Mexican sentiment has been suspicious of our intentions, the reason lies in the ordinary complexity of human affairs and in the special difficulties of the Mexican problem. Mistaken, awkward, grotesque though American policy may have frequently shown itself since the beginning of Mr. Wilson's Administration, it has been so only in detail. Beneath the surface there has been unity of purpose: to give Mexico all the chance she needs to work out her salvation. The Joint Commission which is dissolving without accomplishing anything has failed as so many of Mr. Wilson's moves have failed. The specific, ostensible object has not been attained; the ultimate purpose has been furthered. If during the four months the Joint Commission has been negotiating in vain, Carranza's Government has been enabled to check a new upflare of Villista strength, to proceed with the business of constitution-building, and to further the economic revival of the country, something very much worth while has been accomplished.

THE proposed amendments to the law, submitted by the Federal Reserve Board to Congress last Saturday, have to do primarily with control of the country's gold. The Board's opinion is that, in so far as gold is held in reserves of individual banks (especially when gold imports are so abnormally large), the chance for undue inflation of credit is increased. It also believes that such holding of gold would in the future render a gold export movement difficult to control. At present, a member bank must keep in its own vaults one-third of the cash reserve required against deposits, and a slightly larger proportion in the Federal Reserve Bank. The Board recommends that all the cash reserve of a member bank except 5 per cent. of its deposits be lodged with the Reserve Bank; which, it estimates, would mean a transfer of $250,000,000. This would naturally be gold, since it is other forms of currency which are essential for ordinary hand-to-hand use. As a further amendment, it is suggested that, just as the Board may in time of severe money strain arbitrarily lower the required percentage of individual bank reserves, so in time of superabundant reserves it shall have the authority to raise the same requirements. This has in view restraint on tendencies to inflation of credit.

OF the Federal Reserve notes now in circulation, amounting to $293,000,000, all but a little over $20,000,000 are secured, not by the 100 per cent. in deposited paper and the 40 per cent. in gold reserve as prescribed by the law for such original issues, but dollar for dollar in gold lodged with a special agent of the Federal Reserve. This is done under a clause of the law which permits a reserve bank to reduce its liability on its notes by covering all outstanding issues with actual money, and withdrawing the pledged commercial paper. That so great a part of the circulation has been thus treated has been a consequence of the immense amount of gold imported during the past two years. The Board now urges that the original issue of the notes on the basis of dollar-for-dollar cash security be permitted. The purpose is, to place these cash reserves among the published resources of the Federal Reserve Banks, whereas now they appear only as a special fund. Such a provision would be largely a technicality, since the present machinery of the law permits such conversion of security after issue.

DAMAGING enough to the newly discovered remedy against racial degeneration, namely, military training in the schools, was the testimony of men like Dr. Abraham Jacobi and Dr. Sargent, of Harvard, before the Senate sub-Committee on Military Affairs at Washington on Saturday. But it hardly needed the authority of these eminent specialists, or the direct statement that most military nations have abandoned compulsory military training for boys, to bring out what the average man recognizes, that the people who would set schoolboys to drilling are really not concerned with the bodies of the school children, but with their minds. Military training in the schools, to those who are hottest for it, is not a physical training programme, but a propaganda. They are aware that for the purpose of future soldiering the exercises and the drill which the schoolboy receives are of little value. But the impress on the child's mind may well persist and tend to foster the spirit which works for conscription. The advocates of thorough militarism are aware that the country is not ready to listen to them, and military training in the schools is a way of educating the country. A nation that does not feel the need of universal service may be brought into the proper mood by going through a set of preliminary motions. These motions may seem purposeless now, but if kept up long enough they will demand an outlet.

IN passing the Diplomatic and Consular bill last week, the Senate paused long enough to strike out a rather absurd amendment adopted by the House. This Orphic clause read as follows:

> Provided, however, that no secretary who as chargé d'affaires at any time during 1916 refused any privilege to any American citizen because such citizen criticised the President of the United States shall be paid any salary from this appropriation.

It appears that this was directed against Mr. Bliss, who was chargé d'affaires at Paris in 1916. The aggrieved critic of the President was Mr. Charles Edward Russell. He published a letter in the Paris *Herald* on August 28, in which he spoke of President Wilson's "most strange and

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grotesque felicitations to the Austrian Emperor," and next day went to ask Mr. Bliss to give him a special letter of recommendation to the Belgian Legation. This was refused; the matter was taken up in the House; and Mr. Bliss was to be docked of his pay! Happily, the Senate took a more sensible view. The opinion which prevailed was that it was well to uphold the right to criticise the President, but that this should not be done at the expense of propriety; moreover, that if Mr. Bliss was to be punished at all for declining to seek a peculiar privilege for his critical fellow-citizen, the thing ought to be done directly and not by a roundabout cutting off of his pay. So the mysterious and a trifle ridiculous amendment was stricken out.

FORTY of the forty-eight Legislatures meet this year, most of them this month. To not a few of them might be addressed the words of the Nashville *Tennesseean:* "Something has got to be sanely and promptly done to put the State on a sound taxation and revenue basis. . . . A fair tax equally apportioned on all the property in Tennessee would yield a revenue that, properly administered, would meet all of the State's needs and leave a surplus. . . . Tennessee stands confessed either as a hopeless blockhead or a wanton spendthrift—or both—so long as the mere means of doing it are not found." But what if the finding of the means only creates a new problem? Connecticut reformed two years ago. Her income now exceeds her expenditure. But are her people free from anxiety as her legislators assemble? "The question now is," declares the Hartford *Courant*, "whether this handsome accumulation of 1915-16 will be 'blown in' in 1917-18." The State institutions will call for more money, and the taxpayers will call for a reduction of taxes. The *Courant* favors both of these things, but urges that the State tax upon the towns be not again suspended, as it is a constant check upon extravagance, since it compels every town to observe how the money is spent. If only every voter could be so compelled!

THE dinner given to Mr. John M. Parker in New Orleans last week did honor to the city and the State as well as to the guest of the occasion. For, while he was acclaimed as the man who reëlected Woodrow Wilson, it was by no means this achievement alone which called forth the demonstration. On the contrary, it was his proved independence of party ties and his courage in choosing his own course which impressed his fellow-citizens and made them greet him as their first citizen. For his part, Mr. Parker reaffirmed his platform: "Be a party man when your party nominates the most capable and best qualified candidate. When they do not, vote for the best man, and thus chasten the political demagogues and bosses who drag your party's good name into disrepute." It would not be human nature for Louisiana voters not to have a special admiration for a man who had done much to keep a Democratic President in the White House, but their ability to appreciate the lofty note sounded by Mr. Parker was shown by their complimentary references to his real triumph —the polling of 50,000 votes, mainly Democratic, of course, not in a Democratic primary, but in an election, in a State which usually casts only a tenth of that number against the winner of the primary. When Southern Democrats can so far forget party feeling as to pay tribute to a man who actually made a Gubernatorial election a genuine contest, the day of a healthier political atmosphere permeating the Solid South seems distinctly nearer.

DOUBTLESS many persons are as tired of hearing Germany called the unjust as the Athenians were of hearing Aristides called the just; but there are times when one has no right to stop hearkening to a cry of injustice simply because it makes one tired. And the latest outgiving concerning the Belgian deportations is of a kind so impressive and so authoritative that it must command attention after all that has come and gone. We refer to Cardinal Mercier's crushing reply to the letter in which Governor-General von Bissing defends the deportations. With what brutal disregard of the actual situation of the men sent into foreign servitude these deportations have been carried out, the great Cardinal makes clear not only by his general assertions, but by two instances, typical of "abundant examples" that might be given. One of these we here reproduce:

> On November 21 recruiting began in the commune of Kersbeek-Miscom. From the 1,325 inhabitants of this commune the recruiters took away altogether, without any distinction of social position or profession, farmers' sons, men who were supporting aged and infirm parents, fathers of families who left wives and families in misery, each of them as necessary to his family as its daily bread. Two families found themselves deprived each of four sons at once. *Among ninety-four deportees there were only two unemployed.*

Is there any man with a spark of humanity and sense of justice who will not echo the Cardinal's concluding wish that the authorities of the German Empire may "think of our undeserved sorrows, of the reprobation of the civilized world, of the judgment of history, and of the chastisement of God," and thus be led to abandon this brutal policy?

AN ingenious step in the work of relief for the suffering people of Belgium has been taken by the mining engineers of the United States in instituting the "Belgian Kiddies, Limited." The "stock" of this company is to be issued at $12 a share, and the purchaser of each share will receive his dividends in the shape of the consciousness that his $12 will provide one sadly needed meal a day throughout a whole year for one Belgian child. Administrative expenses are completely provided for by the Commission for Relief in Belgium, so that every penny invested goes for the actual purchase of food. What makes the action so appropriate is that Mr. Herbert C. Hoover, the head of the Commission, is one of the most eminent of American mining engineers, and has devoted his whole time and his extraordinary organizing ability, ever since the beginning of the war, to the work of Belgian relief. We are confident that the mining engineers will invest liberally in this unquestionably sound and paying stock, and we trust they will do more than that. Many of them are in close relations with capitalists of great wealth, whom a little urging from such a quarter would suffice to convince of their duty and their opportunity in the matter. From such men it is to be hoped that really large subscriptions will be successfully solicited.

EARLIER in the war the conviction of the German Consul in San Francisco would have attracted much more attention. After a long trial, Consul Bopp, together with his Vice-Consul and several consular employees, was found guilty by a Federal jury. The indictment was for violation

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of the laws of the United States in having planned on our soil to blow up munition plants in this country and also in Canada, as well as railway bridges, military trains, and ships carrying supplies to the Allies. These are grave crimes in themselves, and become still graver when committed by officials bearing a commission from the German Government. There is to be an appeal from the lower court, and till that is heard no final judgment should be expressed. But as the case now stands, it has a very black look. No excuse of devotion to the Fatherland should avail even morally for Consul Bopp; and legally he should receive the full penalty for his offences.

THE change of Ministers in Russia means a step backward. Premier Golitzin's first interview confirms the impression created by the removal, with Trepoff, of Count Ignatieff, one of the most potent influences for progress in Russia. In the brusque announcement that hopes of internal reform must be postponed until after the war, the new Premier has flung down a challenge to the nation. That he ventures to do so argues a state of mind in reactionary circles that may be called courage, but may also be called desperation. There can be no question that the Russian people to-day is united as it has never been before in behalf of two things: the continuation of the war to the bitter end, implying the elimination of pro-German influence in the ruling circles; and secondly, the substitution of progressive efficiency for bureaucratic disorder in the marshalling of Russia's resources for the business of war. It is not the Duma alone that has spoken out boldly against the "dark powers" that are strangling the national life. The Council of the Empire and the Assemblies of Nobles have taken their stand with the Duma. The "removal" of the monk Rasputin, the most popular embodiment of these dark powers, was effected by several members of the highest Petrograd aristocracy. It is an event which shows clearly to what degree the nation is united and determined to make its will felt.

TWICE in the course of the war Turkish forces have succeeded in reaching the Suez Canal. To-day all menace to the Canal stands removed as a result of the series of British victories which has cleared the Turks out of the Sinai peninsula and carried the counter-attack into Palestine. The battle-line is now a hundred miles east of the Canal, and less than that distance from the Damascus-Mecca railway. That the British operations are aimed in that direction is very doubtful, however. The Red Sea coast line is lost to the Turks as it is, an independent kingdom has been set up at Mecca, and things could not be much worse for the Sultan if he lost control of the railway. The gain to Great Britain would be scarcely commensurate with the hardships of a campaign in the difficult country between the Mediterranean and the Dead Sea. Much more probable, if the British counter-offensive is to be maintained, is an advance along the coast to Jaffa, the port for Jerusalem, from which the British forces are about fifty miles distant. From Jaffa there is the railway for an advance upon Jerusalem, whose strategic value is far less than the prestige that its occupation would bring. Perhaps there is a hint of naval operations against the Palestinian coast in the presence of British warships on the coast of Asia Minor, where the British Admiralty reports the loss of a seaplane conveyer.

THE favorable British situation on the Egyptian frontier will partly explain British indifference, now everywhere acknowledged, regarding the Salonica army. It has always been difficult to understand why France should have been so bent on the Salonica enterprise and England so cool. It is true that the French genius for grasping a problem in its entirety discerned the importance of the Balkans for the situation as a whole. But after all, Salonica should have meant something to the English because of its comparative proximity to Egypt and the Canal. This point was emphasized at the time of the Gallipoli enterprise when it was recognized in England that the Turkish armies kept employed at the Dardanelles were to that extent immobilized for action against Egypt. The same argument would apply to Salonica. Since the collapse, however, of the Turkish operations against the Canal, this argument has lost much of its force to the British mind. The safety of Egypt has been won in the Sinai Peninsula, an event which would seem to justify the policy of waiting for the Turk to come on and be beaten, in preference to going out several hundred miles to the Balkans to ward off an attack.

"I SHALL give the mob a chance to lynch the Governor of Kentucky first"—with these words Gov. Stanley started by special train for Murray, Kentucky, last week without a policeman or a constable or a single soldier to protect him. Arriving at the town, where the mob was threatening to lynch not only a negro accused of crime, but the Circuit Judge and the Commonwealth's Attorney as well, Gov. Stanley boldly announced to the mob the purpose for which he had come:

> A little more than a year ago, I put my right hand upon a Bible and called God to witness that as Chief Magistrate of Kentucky and supporter of the law I would maintain its integrity. I have come here to plead with you to allow the law to take its orderly course, and to declare that I am here to uphold the law and to protect this court with my own body if necessary.

Now, there have been other Governors in the South who moved to prevent lynchings. "Pitchfork" Tillman himself, if we remember aright, took bodies of militia with him to several points where lynchings were threatened. But nothing quite so thrilling and inspiring as this act of Gov. Stanley's has come out of the South in our recollection. Sheriffs at times have stood off mobs; the one in Ohio who was rewarded by a silver cup for his bravery and devotion to duty did so at the cost to himself of the life of one of his children. But Mr. Stanley went without even a weapon or a bodyguard, relying solely upon moral force and his own ability to convince the mob that the law should take its course.

WAYNE MACVEAGH had so long been withdrawn from active life that news of his death came almost as if of one passed away. A vigorous figure in his prime, and a real power in political life, his chosen rôle for many years past was that of a keen and sagacious observer of all that was going on in Washington. To his winter home in that city men prominent in public life used to resort, both to give and to receive information, and above all to listen to Mr. MacVeagh's spicy and often cynical remarks on men and things. He never set up as a "sage," but the great store of experience and anecdote upon which he could draw, and the snap and sparkle of his language, made his conversation instructive as well as highly entertaining.

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The Allied Step Forward

IF we could think of the negotiations to end the slaughter of millions of human beings as merely a game of chess, we should say that the Allies had now made an exceedingly good move, and were entitled to say "check" to Germany. The German Government declined, in its prompt reply to President Wilson, to state the terms of peace which it would propose. But the Allies did not decline. Their response to the President did, to be sure, state that their objects could not be made known "in detail" until actual peace negotiations were under way; but in large outline they made them known at once. This was not the revelation of a great secret. The note to the President but affirmed, on the subject of the aims of the Allies, what their responsible statesmen had several times said. The conditions now described can cause no real surprise in Germany. She must have been aware of them for a long time. Yet their publication in a collective note certainly does force the German Government to make the next move. Tactically, the Allies have won the advantage.

It was a piece of good luck for the Allies, and a help to their standing with neutrals, that on the very day of their making public their response to President Wilson, another German note was given to the press. This is the reply which the German Government, addressing neutral countries, made to the original refusal of the Allies to enter into peace negotiations with Germany until they knew what her terms were. It is, frankly, a poor performance. With its recriminations, its hastily gathered assertions, and its manifest evasions, it reads more like a newspaper assault than a seriously reasoned official document. And German diplomatic blundering never went further than in the affirmation made at a juncture like this, that upon the Belgian Government of 1914 "falls the responsibility for the fate which befell Belgium." This is to knock down and rob a man and then abuse him for not handing over his money on the demand of the highwayman. If the German Government does not feel itself choked by the blood of Belgium, neutral nations will feel that it ought to be, and that it should no longer seek excuses for what its own Chancellor admitted at the time to be an international crime. And the resentment of neutrals at this spectacle of Germany now insulting Belgium, after doing her cruel injury, cannot fail to be intensified by the note which the King of Belgium sent to President Wilson at the same time with the communication from the Allies. This Belgian note, like nearly every publication coming from that ravaged country, is admirable in its tone. To its expressions of gratitude for what the American people have done to aid the stricken Belgians, it adds a solemn arraignment of the acts of Germany from the outbreak of the war down to the present day, and a touching statement of the patient hope and firm resolve of Belgium, "innocent victim of German ambition and covetousness."

This seems hardly the time to discuss minutely the general conditions of peace which the Allies lay down. The German Government will doubtless assert that they are impossible. The German press will fly into a rage at them. Taken as a whole, they would constitute a humiliation to Germany to which, we suppose, she is not now in a mood to submit. But the main thing is to have certain positions taken which can be debated. After a little, it will be necessary for the German Government and people, either directly or indirectly, officially or by way of informal approach, to say what demands on the list of the Allies could be granted. The evacuation and restoration of Belgium? This has been virtually conceded already. Servia? Well, it has been explained that all that Germany and Austria want is a little "corner" of Servia. Poland? But Germany is talking about an autonomous Poland, and so is the Czar. Plainly, there is room for discussion and negotiation here. The other points—especially the expulsion of the Turk from Europe, with the implied advance of Russia to Constantinople—would present greater difficulties. But the Allies omit as well as assert. They say not a word about the German colonies. They indulge in no threats about hampering Germany economically. There would be plenty of bargaining material. And we are confident that there will soon be strong pressure upon the Teutonic Powers, from their own anxious and suffering people, to meet the proposals of the Allies with counter-proposals. So long as the word peace is still uttered by the belligerents, hope is not extinguished.

Two things, at least, have been placed beyond doubt by the note of the Allies. They desire to show marked deference to the President of the United States. They do not resent his inquiries. They rather go a long way towards meeting them. By so much they yield proof that Mr. Wilson's note was neither ill-timed nor unsuccessful. It has brought out the first definite basis for peace negotiations. The second thing is that the Allies have given up any thought which they may have entertained at one time of "crushing" and ruthlessly dismembering Germany. Lord Curzon declared in the House of Lords a few days ago that "such an idea had not entered the mind of any human being in England." This is going beyond the record. But to-day, at any rate, the Allies agree that to Germany must be allowed her place and development. So this alleged obstacle is no longer in the way of peace. And as for the destruction of the Prussian military system, we have recently had a weighty declaration signed by many leading Englishmen: "That system will be ended as soon as Germany is ready to accept, what most other nations have long desired, the settlement of international questions by peaceful arbitration or coöperation in council, and not by the open or secret menace of the sword."

A Victory for Common-Sense in Prohibition

THE decision of the Supreme Court sustaining the Webb-Kenyon law ought to be hailed with a hearty welcome by all who believe in rational treatment of the liquor question, whether prohibitionist or anti-prohibitionist. No one denies the right of a State to enact prohibition laws. Whether such laws are wise or foolish, beneficent or injurious, is a question on which there is, and will long continue to be, emphatic difference of opinion; but since jurisdiction of the question resides in the State, there ought to be no difference of opinion on the desirability of the State being free to carry out its purpose, unhampered by an adventitious obstacle. Such an obstacle, arising not out of the operation of any fundamental principle, but from what can hardly be called anything but an accident, was that which

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was due to the absence of power in the individual States to interfere with liquor imports from other States because these were a part of interstate commerce, over which Congress has exclusive control. Congress removed the difficulty by passing the Webb-Kenyon act, which permits the exclusion of such imports; and the Supreme Court has now declared that the act is constitutional. The only substantial ground, we take it, for contesting its validity was that it was an unconstitutional delegation of power to the States; but the Supreme Court declares—to use the words of Chief Justice White in announcing the majority opinion—that "we can have no doubt that Congress has complete authority to prevent paralyzing of State authority." In other words, it is not as an interference with interstate commerce, but in the exercise, in good faith, of a function undisputedly belonging to the police power of the State, that liquor from other States is excluded by a State which prohibits its manufacture, sale, or use within its own borders; and the realities, as distinguished from mere technicalities, of the constitutional distribution of State and Federal powers are not disturbed, but strengthened, by the Supreme Court's decision.

It will now be possible for the experiment of prohibition to be tried in a more thorough and convincing manner than has thus far been the case. Those States which are thoroughly in earnest in the matter—and some of them unquestionably are—will be put upon their mettle to show what can be done with the vexatious and illogical difficulty arising out of interstate shipments removed. It has been a standing reproach to many of the prohibition States that great quantities of liquor are consumed in them, sometimes in open and sometimes in more or less secret violation of the law. That this is not by any means wholly to be ascribed to the difficulty which the Webb-Kenyon law was enacted to remove is true enough; in Maine, for example, during nearly the whole of the two generations in which that State has lived under a so-called prohibition régime, the non-enforcement of the law has been too scandalously evident to require any special explanation. But general knowledge of the fact that, by the verdict of our national court of last resort, control of the liquor question within its own borders has been placed absolutely in the power of each State, must have the effect of driving home, far more effectually than has hitherto been the case, responsibility for any such failure. In this situation, it ought to be possible for honest and right-minded men effectively to insist that prohibitory laws shall be either enforced or repealed.

The bearing of the whole matter upon the subject of national prohibition is of the utmost importance. The adoption of a Constitutional amendment enforcing prohibition throughout the Union, without regard to the wishes of the people of the individual States, would be incomparably the greatest departure from the spirit of our Federal Union that has been taken since the foundation of our Government. It would call for the regulation by Federal authority of a matter intimately affecting the daily life of the people of every State; a matter, too, upon which there exists the greatest possible diversity of habit and sentiment in the manifold varieties of city and country communities throughout the Union. Furthermore, the subject is one upon which experience has shown that there is a constant shifting of public opinion in those States, and subdivisions of States, which have experimented with it; but whereas within a State it is easily possible to repeal prohibitory laws if experience recommends such a course, the repeal of a Constitutional amendment, once adopted, would be almost impossible. However badly it might work in New York, and Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania, and other great States with large urban populations, their people could never throw off its burden so long as there were twelve States, however small, remote, or sparsely settled, which insisted on retaining the prohibition amendment.

When the question of a national prohibition amendment again comes up in Congress, those who realize the extreme gravity of such a step should perceive that with the upholding of the Webb-Kenyon act one of the chief props of the argument in favor of it has been taken away. However great the uncertainties and dangers attending it, however serious the departure from the spirit of our institutions, and however difficult the undoing of the error if it should prove an error, the advocates of a national prohibition amendment have been able to urge in favor of it the consideration that the States were powerless to bring about effective prohibition, and that therefore if it was to be had at all it must be had through Federal action. This plea can no longer be made. Furthermore, it will now be possible to watch the operation of prohibition in the various States with a better chance than heretofore of getting some sort of idea of how we may expect national prohibition to work; and surely, it would be the height of rashness to take that plunge until we have incomparably better warrant than we have at present for supposing that it will work well.

The Socialist Vote and After

IT is no secret that Socialists themselves expected a noticeable falling off in the party vote for some time before election day. It is doubtful whether they were prepared for so serious a decline as the detailed tabulation of the popular vote now reveals. There were cast for Mr. Allan Benson last November 590,000 votes, or a decrease of 310,000 from the vote for Debs of 1912. Only three States, Oklahoma, Florida, and Virginia, showed an increase, with a total growth of about 4,000 votes. The losses were heaviest in the banner Socialist States. If we take these in the order they occupied in 1912, the loss in percentage was as follows: Ohio, 58 per cent.; Pennsylvania, 50; Illinois, 50; California, 62; New York, 27; Oklahoma, increase; Washington, 47; Wisconsin, 20; Missouri, 25; Kansas, 11. On the basis of this showing the Socialists are entitled to a voice in the fascinating little game of who was it that elected Woodrow Wilson. If they did not elect Mr. Wilson, they certainly helped. California, with a plurality for Wilson of less than 4,000 and a Socialist decline of 50,000, is an obvious case. In Ohio, it is conceivable that they supplied almost half of Wilson's plurality. That the Socialist defection was almost entirely to Wilson there can be no doubt. Leaders and rank and file made no concealment before election day of their strong predilection for the President.

Naturally, there have been post-mortems in the Socialist party. But they have been one-sided. The controlling element in the party, upon whom official responsibility for failure would rest, has pursued the tactics of the European war offices, which pass over a disaster in silence to mention

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it some days later as a matter of common knowledge. The Opposition has been less reticent. It sees in the outcome of the election the fruits of a policy of opportunism. The leaders are accused of having gone in for Socialist votes instead of Socialist converts, of playing politics instead of building the social revolution. The result has been that in the hour of trial a great mass of lukewarm Socialist voters has been found wanting. This is a classic indictment in the history of Socialist party quarrels. But it is not quite an honest indictment. Its proponents have a way of applying to it utterly different sets of circumstances. If the Socialist vote shows a notable increase, as it did in the election of four years ago, the Stalwarts view with alarm the perilous dilution of Socialist doctrine through the admission of half-believers. If the Socialist vote shows a decline, the Stalwarts interpret it as a setback for Socialism. And, as a matter of fact, there is noticeable in this year's restatement of the familiar criticism against the party leadership a certain absence of conviction. The charge of opportunism and bossism and machine politics is made half-heartedly. It is as if the critics were aware at heart that something more than party policies and party management entered into this year's election.

What happened last November was that the Socialist party had to face its usual problem in aggravated form. In every national election there is the temptation to seize upon the gain of the moment held forth by one of the old-line parties and candidates. Socialist discipline has it for its principal task to fortify the weaker brethren against the lure of reform and radicalism. Against the temptation of the moment it insists on the policy of all or nothing. Being a movement made up, after all, of human beings, it succeeds only in part. Always it is a test between the strength of Socialist doctrine and the special pull of the moment. There are Socialists who are always true to the faith. There are Socialists who can be swayed only by an exceptional outside personality or an exceptional state of circumstances. There are Socialists who backslide with ease. In the last election the clash of forces presented itself in its most unfortunate form for the party. On the one hand, the very principles of the Socialist faith were shaken as they had not been in any previous election by the war and its effects upon Socialism in Europe. On the other hand, the gain to be achieved by voting outside the party was immeasurably greater than any temporary profit held forth in previous years by a Bryan or a Roosevelt. In other years it was enough for the average Socialist voter to balance the permanent interests of his party against this or that special promise from the outside. This time a great many Socialists were beset with grave doubts as to the future of their party and were confronted at the same time with grave issues in the decision of which their individual votes would count.

To a great many Socialist voters the issue between Wilson and Hughes presented itself as something more than a contest between a progressive candidate and a conservative candidate. The choice had to be made between two attitudes towards the problems launched upon this nation and the world by the war, and towards the new epoch and the new spirit which would be born out of the war. Between the two men there was no room for hesitation. In Wilson they saw embodied the future. In Hughes they found the past. This does not mean that they all voted for Wilson in full confidence; but in his opponent they saw no promise whatever. This was the temptation, and the war supplied the excuse. To abandon party fealty under ordinary circumstances might come hard. But this was a time when most things—except the Republican party—were breaking from their moorings. At most the recreant Socialist would be yielding to a general rout. In ordinary times the prestige of the Socialist party would be hurt by a serious loss in its voting strength. This time prestige hardly mattered. After the war the slate would be clean as regards most parties, beliefs, and reputations. There would have to be a new start.

The future of the Socialist party cannot be predicated from its showing in the last election, just as we cannot argue the downfall of the Social-Democracy in Germany from the fact that most of its past principles and pretensions have been wiped out by the war. Let peace come, let the German people begin to pay the price of war, and they will voice their discontent through the same medium they employed for the purpose before the war. Habit is stronger than logic, and the war record of the Kaiser's Socialists will be forgiven them. It is likely to be the same in this country. Four years from now, when the outstanding issues in this country are national instead of international, the Socialist deserters of 1916 will probably be back in the fold.

Frontier America

BUFFALO BILL was the last in the succession which began with Daniel Boone and included Davy Crockett and Kit Carson. He does not rank with any of the three others in actual national service. His picturesqueness was more of a personal and theatrical nature, whereas the glamour that surrounds his predecessors arises so largely from their significance as national types. Yet the difference is one of degree. He, too, played a part in the pushing forward of the frontier, and his life, pieced on to the others, offers a fair measure of the speed with which a continent was occupied in the space of exactly a hundred years, if we count from the year in which Boone crossed the mountains into Kentucky to the year in which the Union Pacific was completed. The stages are definite. Boone was born in Pennsylvania and died in Missouri. Crockett was born west of the Alleghanies, in Tennessee, and died in Texas. Kit Carson and Cody were born west of the Mississippi and died in Colorado. In his world-famous sobriquet Cody summed up the last phase of a great historic process. He earned it by supplying buffalo meat to the railway builders. The buffalo is extinct, and the railway which joined California to the Mississippi marked the end of the westward march of the frontier. When Cody organized the Wild West Show in 1883 it meant that the Wild West itself was gone.

The American frontier was really not pushed forward. It leaped forward, and at every stage it left frontier conditions behind it. It was less a process of occupation than of a rapid staking out of claims. The fact that Daniel Boone died in Missouri in 1820 does not mean that population had filled up in the region beyond the Alleghanies to the saturation point. The frontiersman moved forward as much out of restlessness as out of necessity. The States of the West came into the Union as gigantic blueprints upon which the edifice was still to be erected. When Mis-

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souri was admitted in 1820, life was still very primitive in Kentucky and Ohio. When freedom and slavery fought for the possession of Kansas, it was for the stakes of the future that they clashed. One need only read of the painful wagon journeys of John Brown to and from Kansas across the States of the original Northwestern territory to see how different was the pressure of population which sent men across the Mississippi from that very real pressure, the stifling congestion, which has sent the millions of Europe across the seas. It was largely to the immigrant from abroad that the task was left of filling up the ground plans which the adventurous spirit of the American frontiersman merely sketched out. The frontier was driven forward in the spirit of the young man who is anxious to come into his full title of inheritance rather than interested in the exploitation of his property. That remained for soberer years.

No nation to-day stands, even approximately, so near to its epic period as America. The white peoples of South Africa and Australia come closest, but we can hardly speak of these as nations, even if we exclude the test of numbers and achievement. The figure of Lincoln has all the grandeur and remoteness of myth for the younger generation, but their fathers knew Lincoln in the body. A single life-span will cover the entire transition of the great West from the buffalo plains to the stamping ground of the automobile, the initiative, and the referendum. Col. Cody began as Indian fighter and scout and ended as a promoter of irrigation in the dry lands of Wyoming. But the spirit of men does not change as rapidly as their material condition. The physical frontier has been obliterated in continental America. It has been pushed out to Alaska. But the spiritual frontier is still a fact. There is no longer a Wild West, but the people of that region are very much agreed that there is a free West, with the questioning, restless, experimental soul of the pioneer. The West resents every imputation that in so far as the material facts of life are concerned it is not fully grown up. It insists at the same time upon its youthfulness of heart.

Buffalo Bill's remarkable popularity in London and Paris was due only in part to his own picturesque personality and the elemental interests of a good Wild West show. Up to the last many good people of Europe must have regarded the horseman in buckskin and sombrero as typical of contemporary American civilization. It is hard keeping up with a country whose frontiers have leaped forward two thousand miles in a lifetime.

The Political Influence of Rousseau

I.

IN the fifth volume of his "History of England in the Eighteenth Century" Lecky has a remarkable comparison between Burke and Rousseau in which he affirms that the spirit of Rousseau is prevailing more and more over that of Burke in English political thinking and public affairs. He concludes that if the principles of Rousseau should become finally dominant "a speedy dissolution of this great and complex empire will be inevitable." From this point of view Professor Vaughan's edition of Rousseau's political writings* is a symptom and perhaps a portent. Professor Vaughan holds that in the essentials of political wisdom Burke is "immeasurably inferior to the man of whom he never speaks but with scorn and loathing; to the despised theorist, the metaphysical madman of Geneva."

Professor Vaughan has made an important contribution to that great desideratum—a correct text of Rousseau. His volumes, with their three hundred pages or more of general and special introductions, will be a great convenience to students of Rousseau's political influence. At the same time there is danger in studying the political writings of Rousseau apart from his other writings, and especially in separating the passages which are supposed to be political from those which are not. For example, the book which had most influence in preparing the Revolution was not, as Professor Vaughan seems to think, the "Discourse on Inequality," but "Emile." Lakanal in his speech before the Convention (18 September, 1794) on Rousseau's influence especially emphasizes this rôle of "Emile" and cites a list of passages that had acted forcibly on men's minds. Not one of these passages is found in Professor Vaughan's selections from "Emile." What makes Rousseau so important even in the political field is less his specific utterances on politics than his general spirit. "Cold reason," says Rousseau, "has never done anything illustrious." Man is not governed by reason at all in this sense, but by imagination. Professor Vaughan does not feel sufficiently the imaginative quality that pervades Rousseau's writings. He treats them too much as a mere alignment of theorems.

After all, Rousseau is only the most eloquent and influential of the sentimentalists. Professor Vaughan has not a word to say about sentimentalism. Now the most salient trait of the sentimentalist is that he always has some lovely dream that he prefers to the truth. "There is nothing beautiful," Rousseau was fond of saying, "save that which is not." In a fragment dating from the last year of his life which appears in Professor Vaughan for the first time, he says that his "whole life has been nothing but a long revery." He took flight on the wings of his imagination into some "land of chimeras," as he said, or, as we should say, into some tower of ivory. He built up a world of pure fiction alongside the real world and called this world of fiction the ideal. In the name of his ideal he refused to adjust himself to the real. He is the very type of the unadjusted man. Alienists are giving increasing attention to the man who regards his failure to adjust himself to the real as proof of a superior idealism; and in its extreme forms the tendency undoubtedly points towards madness. Still, we must remember that Rousseau's fondness for a certain kind of fiction simply exaggerates a universal human trait—the longing for some golden age or land of heart's desire. Rousseau gives new depth and richness to the Arcadian dream. A very large proportion of the art and literature of all countries is idyllic in theme, though the best art and literature, of course, have not thus retreated from the facts of life into some Arcadia, but have faced them unflinchingly. Perhaps a useful classification of men might be into those who take this world to be a picnic-ground and those who see that it is a battle-field. M. Faguet complains that the image Rousseau has left on the mind of the public is that of a gentleman up in a cherry tree tossing down

*_The Political Writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau._ Edited by C. E. Vaughan. 2 vols. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. $18.50.

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cherries to two maidens below (incident of Mlles. Galley and Graffenried in the "Confessions"); but this, after all, is Rousseau's essential attitude. He sought to develop the mere dalliance of an extraordinarily rich imagination into a complete scheme of life.

II.

Professor Vaughan has failed to include in his collection the passage that is more important than any other, perhaps, for an understanding of Rousseau's political views—the passage in the "Confessions" in which he narrates the circumstances under which he composed the "Discourse on Inequality." In no other passage can one trace so clearly the transformation of the more or less innocent Arcadian dreamer into the dangerous Utopist. He goes off with Thérèse on a picnic into the forest of Saint-Germain and in the course of this excursion comes to conceive of the life of primitive man himself as only a glorified picnic. "Plunged in the forest," says Rousseau, "I sought and found there the image of primitive times the history of which I proudly drew. I swooped down on all the little falsehoods of men; I ventured to lay bare their nature and to follow the progress of time and of the circumstances that have disfigured it, and comparing the man of man with the man of nature, to show in his alleged improvement the true source of all his miseries," etc.

The "man of nature" that thus dawns on Rousseau is unsocial, a mere disconnected unit. The different disconnected units are, however, kept from fighting with one another, as they do in Hobbes's state of nature, by natural pity. From natural pity Rousseau derives all the virtues that are to oppose bounds to the expansion of egoistic impulse, notably of the lust for power to which Hobbes accords first place. It should hardly be necessary to point out at this time that the state of nature, both as Hobbes conceives it and as Rousseau conceives it, is a mere fiction. Primitive man, so far as we know him, is not a disconnected particle; he is not governed by either egoistic or altruistic impulse, but by a rigid convention (the very thing from which Rousseau was seeking to escape). He justifies the point of view of Aristotle rather than that of Hobbes or Rousseau. The state, says Aristotle, is a creation of nature. Man is by nature a political animal. The mere separate individual, the man without a state, is either above or below humanity, either a beast or a god.

It is natural, according to Aristotle, for man to be a citizen. On the contrary, says Rousseau, "you must choose between making a man or a citizen; for you cannot make both at once." According as they aim at one or the other of these ends, Rousseau's words tend to fall into two classes. In "Emile," for example, he devises a system of education that is intended primarily to make a man; in the treatise on the "Government of Poland," a very different system that is intended to make a citizen. Though always a dreamer, he oscillates in his dream from one extreme to the other. "For me," he says, "there is no intermediary term between everything and nothing." He passes, for example, from the extreme individualism, the no-state of the Second Discourse (on Inequality), to the extreme collectivism, the all-state, of the first part of the "Social Contract." He fluctuates between extremes even in his collectivistic ideal. Thus he writes to the Marquis de Mirabeau that he does not see "any endurable mean between the most austere democracy and the most perfect Hobbism." In either case, the individual, who had no limitations whatever put upon him in the state of nature, is to become a mere passive instrument, in the first case of a numerical majority; in the second, of a despot.

In "the most austere democracy" the individual is to have no rights against the numerical majority at any particular moment because this majority expresses the general will and the general will is ideally disinterested. It cannot have any interest contrary to that of the individuals who compose it (!), so that the individual needs no guarantees against it. All the clauses of the Social Contract, therefore, "reduce themselves to one: the total alienation of every associate with all his rights" (including his rights to property) "to the whole community." The abstract rights that Rousseau postulates appertain to the individual only in so far as he is a member of the sovereign people. The sovereignty of the people is to be absolute and unlimited. "To limit sovereignty," says Rousseau, "is to destroy it." The people is not bound by its own past and cannot obligate itself for the future; it cannot contract to obey the officers—representatives, judiciary, or even monarch—that it has set up; they are only the puppets of the general will, revocable at pleasure. "The sovereign," says Rousseau, "by the very fact that it is, is always what it should be." It has often been pointed out that Rousseau transfers to the people the doctrine that the king can do no wrong. But he does more than that. The king, if not responsible to what is below him, is at least responsible to what is above him—to God. But the sovereign people is responsible to no one. It *is* God. The contract that it makes is with itself, like that which, according to the old theologians, was made in the council chamber of the Trinity. "By the mere pleasure of God," says Jonathan Edwards, "I mean his sovereign pleasure, his arbitrary will, restrained by no obligation," etc.

The notion of a general will in virtue of which Rousseau grants to the people a place that was formerly reserved for God Almighty is in itself only an Arcadian fiction. It is a romanticizing of his own youthful memories of Geneva and Switzerland. "When you see," he says, "among the happiest people in the world bands of peasants regulate the affairs of state under an oak tree and always behave sensibly, can you keep from despising the refinements of other nations?" etc. In much the same way Emerson based his confidence in democracy on the workings of the New England town meeting. Both Rousseau and Emerson are too prone to forget that what they are witnessing is not human nature as it is in itself, but a human nature that has been modified by long generations of religious discipline. Even in regard to Geneva, Rousseau is capable of passing, after the fashion of the radical, from the fairest visions to the darkest suspicions. The Petit Conseil which is presented in the introductory letter to the Second Discourse as ideally subservient to the general will appears in the "Lettres de la Montagne" (of which Professor Vaughan prints the last four) as a gang of conspirators who are seeking to thwart this general will. Rousseau is here seen fomenting an actual revolution; his method, in spite of his usual cautions and reservations, is that which has been adopted by so many of his disciples—to seek to discredit the veto power in the state in favor of popular impulse.

III.

What is always involved in the debate between the par-

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tisans and opponents of unlimited sovereignty is this question of the veto power. The English tradition and our tradition so far as we continue England is to work for a balance of power—to bestow a little sovereignty here and a little there and absolute sovereignty nowhere; and then to set up a judiciary sufficiently strong to put a veto on any of these partial sovereignties that tend to overstep their prescribed limits. This system of checks and balances which comes primarily from England and the radicalism which comes primarily from France have now been at grips with one another for something over a century. In this country the contest can be traced in the authors of the *Federalist*, for example, on the one hand, and the representatives of the Jeffersonian and Jacksonian democracy on the other. Some may be found even to-day to agree with John Adams when he writes to Thomas Jefferson: "The fundamental article of my political creed is that unlimited sovereignty is the same in the majority of a popular assembly, an aristocratical council, an oligarchical junta, and a single emperor—equally arbitrary, cruel, bloody, and in every respect diabolical." The general drift, however, is towards a more and more radical interpretation of sovereignty; it can be neither delegated nor divided; government, we feel, can scarcely be too responsive to the immediate impact of the popular will. (Hence the initiative, referendum, recall, etc.) We are developing a truly Rousseauistic distrust of the representative principle. Ballots have appeared in various States from ten to thirty feet long. The ordinary citizen is called upon to vote on the spur of the moment on a multitude of men and measures of which he is equally ignorant. The theory is that from a majority of these ignorant votes will emerge a general will, a sort of composite judgment, that will be sounder than can be had in any other way. The Rousseauist hopes to find a substitute for quality, which in this case means responsible leadership, in a sort of quantitative impressionism.

That the doctrine of popular sovereignty has been the great dissolvent of the traditional forms of aristocracy is evident. It is not, however, in favor of a more genuine aristocracy that Rousseau would get rid of these traditional forms. He would like so far as is possible to get rid of the aristocratic idea altogether. This trait is common to both his anarchistic and his collectivistic Utopia. The world of the "Social Contract" no less than that of the Second Discourse is a world without degree and subordination; a world in which no one looks up to any one else or expects any one to look up to him. The main preoccupation of thinkers like Plato and Aristotle, to whom Professor Vaughan constantly likens Rousseau (and with very little reason), is with this very problem that Rousseau evades. Leadership of some kind Plato and Aristotle felt there must be, so that everything in the art of government hinges on getting the right quality of leadership. The total tendency of what they urge is to restrain the passions and appetites of the most intelligent members of a community, the tendency of what Rousseau urges is to inflame the passions and appetites of its least intelligent members. Such an appeal to passion may be potent to upset the existing order, but what supervenes is not an Arcadian equality and fraternity in the general will, but an inferior type of leadership. Take the case of Robespierre, perhaps the most thoroughgoing of all Rousseau's followers. In theory Robespierre was not a leader at all—merely the people's "hired man." But at critical moments, so far from being a mere organ of the general will, he imposed *his* will on the people.

IV.

After all, the recognition of the need of a veto power in the state must rest ultimately on the recognition of the need of a veto power in the breast of the individual, and this Rousseau undermines by his doctrine of natural goodness. Two great traditions had sought to restrain impulse and impose on it some kind of form and proportion: the Christian tradition by its insistence on humility, the classical tradition by its insistence on decorum. On the very first page of his "Confessions" Rousseau repudiates both humility and decorum. He assumes that human nature can be known in its truth only when stripped of the last shred of reticence. He already goes on the principle recently proclaimed by the Irish Bohemian George Moore, that the only thing one should be ashamed of is of being ashamed. At the same time, he imagines himself issuing a challenge to the whole human race in the presence of the Almighty: "Let a single man say, if he dare, I was better than that man." As Horace Walpole puts it, he meditates a gasconade for the end of the world. Few persons, even during the past century, have succeeded in being less decorous and less humble than the author of the "Confessions." He ushered in appropriately an epoch of fearless, formless expansion. He was the spokesman of a middle class which was gaining rapidly in wealth and influence and which, having got rid of traditional control, did not wish to acquire self-control. At the same time, this middle class wished to keep in good humor with itself, and this need Rousseau also satisfied. No writer is more lavish in his praise of virtue and conscience. But he gives to these words entirely new meanings. Starting from the sound principle that cold reason has never done anything illustrious, he proceeds to convert virtue into a passion and even into an intoxication. Conscience, instead of being, as it has always been traditionally, an inner check on impulse, becomes itself an expansive emotion. We should be careful, however, not to exaggerate the rôle of Rousseau in this transformation of virtue and conscience. The sentimental movement was already well under way when he began writing. As an originative force in this movement the third Earl of Shaftesbury is perhaps more important than Rousseau. For Shaftesbury conscience is felt, not as an inner check, but as a passion for doing good to others, for what we should call nowadays social service.* No one who wishes to trace the rise of humanitarianism can afford to neglect Shaftesbury.

Humanitarianism of the type one already finds in Shaftesbury encourages a view of human nature that may turn out to be unduly Arcadian. There exists in man as he is an insatiate something that is always reaching out for more. The sentimentalist either denies this grasping and egoistic element entirely or assumes that in an open competition it will yield to altruistic impulse. It is possible to follow down this sentimental assumption from the very beginning of the humanitarian movement and observe its constant refutation by the facts.† But facts, as I have remarked, do not appeal to the sentimentalist in comparison

*For the rôle of Shaftesbury see the opening chapter of Hastings Rashdall's *Is Conscience an Emotion?* 1914.

†I have attempted to do this in an article (*The Breakdown of Internationalism*, *Nation*, June 17 and 24, 1915), which connects up very closely in subject with the present one.

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with the beauty of his dream. "Let us begin," says Rousseau in the Second Discourse, "by setting aside all the facts." And so under the sentimental dispensation, as the cynic might complain, everybody talks brotherly love and at the same time there is a general grasping at everything in sight. There has thus grown up gradually that singular mixture of altruism and high explosives that we are pleased to term our civilization. I have said that Hobbes's state of nature is a myth; but as against Shaftesbury and Rousseau and the sentimentalists Hobbes has some justification. Rousseau imagines a world in which everybody lives temperamentally and calls it the world of primitive man. Such a world, if we are to judge by the attempts that have been made to realize it, tends to produce two utterly unprimitive types, the Bohemian and superman. When it comes to action the Bohemian counts very little and is often the mere tool of the superman. In a purely temperamental world it would seem that what actually comes to the front is that "general inclination of all mankind," of which Hobbes speaks, "a perpetual and restless desire for power after power that ceaseth only in death." The problem of the superman and the efficacy of mere altruism to oppose him reappears on a larger scale in the problem of the supernation. What Professor Vaughan sees in Rousseau's political writings is "the golden dawn of brotherhood." What any one who attends to the facts might rather see there is the blood-red dawn of imperialism. M. Ernest Seillière, indeed, is tracing in a series of volumes* the relationship between Rousseauistic living and what he terms irrational imperialism.

In the meanwhile Rousseau and similar writers meet the needs of the huge mass of the half-educated who wish to have their cake and eat it too; who wish to live in "a universe with the lid off" and at the same time enjoy peace and other blessings that are the fruits of spiritual discipline; who hope that it will be possible to devise some mechanical or emotional substitute for self-control. But under existing circumstances the only substitute for self-control is force. "Society cannot exist," says Burke, "unless a controlling power upon will and appetite be placed somewhere, and the less there is of it within the more there must be without." The remedy for our modern "drift" is not "mastery" (in the current sense of efficiency), as our glib young intellectuals would have us believe, but self-mastery.

Rousseau has no notion of any such spiritual discipline. In lieu of this discipline he would have Emile bow his head "beneath the hard yoke that nature imposes upon man, the heavy yoke of physical necessity." In spite of his talk about natural pity, he saw that what prevails on the purely naturalistic level is the law of force:

> The good old rule, the simple plan:
> That they should take who have the power,
> And they should keep who can.

M. Lanson seems to think that if the citizens of a state were only educated according to the principles of "Emile," it might be possible to achieve the miracle of a disinterested general will. But why should an Emile who has learned the lesson of force from nature herself not be ready to pass along this lesson to others, whether to his fellow-citizens or to the citizens of some other state? It remains to consider more fully this latter point—the implications of Rousseauism for international relations.

Le Mal romantique; essai sur l'impérialisme irrationnel (1908) etc.; cf. also the book by L. Estève: *Une nouvelle Psychologie de l'impérialisme: Ernest Seillière.* Alcan. 1913.

V.

WE have seen that according to Rousseau when a man becomes a citizen, that is, when he accepts the social contract, he is utterly changed from what he was in the state of nature. But different nations and their citizens still remain in the state of nature in their dealings with one another. In that case, they should be governed in these dealings, according to the principles of the "Discourse on Inequality," by natural pity and all the virtues that flow from it. We find as a matter of fact in conceptions like that of natural pity the beginnings of the sentimental internationalism which has recently collapsed so lamentably. But the problem as Rousseau himself sees it is far from being so simple. "Natural pity," he says, "is no longer to be found save in certain great cosmopolitan spirits who overleap the imaginary barriers that separate nations, and after the fashion of the Supreme Being who has created them, embrace the whole of humanity in their benevolence." But in general Rousseau is not tender to cosmopolitans. One should seek in him rather the origins of that frenzied nationalism which has become a menace to the very continuance of Occidental civilization. He is ready, indeed, to root out humanity in favor of patriotism. "Every patriot," he says, "is harsh to foreigners; they are only men; they are nothing in his eyes. But this does not much matter." What Rousseau wants, as we see in his plan of education for the Poles, is an inbreeding of national idiosyncrasy. The Poles are to be Poles before being human beings. Their patriotic virtue is to be so stimulated as to become not merely a passion, but an intoxication.

But how are European nations, when each has attained to the highest degree of self-assertion, to live at peace with one another? Rousseau confesses that as regards international relations he is at one with Hobbes; he believes, in other words, that what will prevail in these relations is the law of cunning and the law of force. In that case, how will it be possible to prevent the constant increase in armaments which, as he foresees, is destined some day to be the ruin of Europe? Not by treaties and alliances in any case; for he warns the Poles that among the Christian nations treaties and alliances are only scraps of paper, though the Turks, he adds, show a little more respect for their international obligations. The only scheme that seems to him to hold out any hope is an application of the federative principle, what we should call nowadays the league to enforce peace. This league should have some central tribunal backed up by an international army. Rousseau developed his ideas on this subject in his "Abridgment" (1761) of the Abbé de Saint-Pierre's "Project for Perpetual Peace" (originally published in 1712-17) and in his "Judgment" on this Project (1782). The Abbé de Saint-Pierre himself seeks to revive the plan for a United States of Europe that had been worked out by Henry IV and his Minister Sully. Rousseau has a much keener sense of the dangers of the league to enforce peace than some of its modern sponsors. "It might," he says, "work more harm at a stroke than it could prevent during centuries." The plan of Henry IV and Sully, he points out, underneath its assumption of disinterestedness, was egoistic and imperialistic. The driving power behind it was the desire to exalt France to the first place in Europe instead of Spain. Thus Rousseau, though

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he has certainly asked the right question, does not himself feel sure that he has found the right answer. This, indeed, may turn out to be in general the great distinction of Rousseau in the history of thought—to have given the wrong answers to the right questions. Not many thinkers have been able even to ask the right questions.

One institution, Rousseau admits, had done much in the past to lessen international friction. "It is undeniable," he says, "that Europe owes to Christianity above all, even to-day, the species of union that has survived among its members." He goes on to say, anticipating Heine, that Rome, having suffered material defeat, sent her dogmas instead of her legions into the provinces. To this spiritual Rome mediæval and modern Europe has owed what small equivalent it has enjoyed of the *pax Romana*. One might suppose that Rousseau would seek to retain in some form or other this spiritual bond that is set above nationality. But the whole conception has the drawback of being disciplinary, and what Rousseau wants is not discipline, but emotional expansion, especially in the nationalistic form—the intoxication of patriotism. He therefore sets out deliberately to break down the distinction between the spiritual and the temporal order which is at the heart of Christianity, and to which is due in the final analysis every genuine progress that has been made in political theory and practice since Aristotle; for example, the notion of individual liberty. The individual cannot be allowed, said Rousseau, thus to set aside any part of himself from the state. Christianity by its separation of the temporal and the spiritual, gives a man two fatherlands and has the added drawback of enjoining upon him humility. "True Christians are meant to be slaves," he says; whereas the citizen can attain his maximum efficiency only when inflamed with patriotic pride. Rousseau would abolish this divided allegiance, or, as he puts it, "bring together the two heads of the eagle." Let a man not look abroad for his religious belief. Rousseau affirms that this foreign faith, historical Christianity, though it has, as he admits elsewhere, done something to promote the peace of Europe, is not the Christianity of Jesus. The real Jesus was one of those "great cosmopolitan spirits" of whom he speaks in the Second Discourse, in other words, a sentimental deist. In contradistinction both to this cosmopolitanism of sympathy and to the cosmopolitanism of traditional Christianity, Rousseau would have the state prescribe a creed the few and simple dogmas of which are intended as an aid not so much to religion as to sociability. "If any one, after recognizing publicly these same dogmas, behaves as though he did not believe them, let him be punished with death." Perhaps no similar amount of political theorizing in Rousseau or elsewhere contains so much vicious confusion of principle or has been so terrible in its actual results as this closing chapter of the "Social Contract" on "civil religion." During the Revolution those who still clung to the traditional forms that affirm a spiritual order set apart from and superior to both the new nationalism and the new brotherhood were guillotined by Robespierre as "fanatics." The strife between clericals and anti-clericals that has desolated France since the Revolution and amounted at times to civil war has one of its sources, though by no means its only source, in Rousseau.

VI.

Professor Vaughan remarks in his epilogue that "the present war has flashed a fierce light on many political problems," and then proceeds somewhat paradoxically to whitewash Rousseau and at the same time to blacken Fichte and other German theorists of the state who, on his own showing, derive so largely from Rousseau. Some knowledge of Rousseau is necessary in any case for an understanding of modern Germany. A French Catholic writer asserted recently that Prussianism derives directly from the French revolutionary tradition. Compared with Rousseau's German influence, says Prof. Paul Hensel, of the University of Erlangen, one of the most recent authorities on the subject, "his influence on the political and literary development in France seems almost trifling. . . . In reality his deeper influence is accomplished on German soil; here Rousseau became the basis not of a guillotine, but of a new culture (Kultur). . . . We have drawn his spirit over to us, we have made it our own," etc.

Perhaps the Germans are inclined to exaggerate Rousseau's rôle in the formation of their Kultur. Still, after making all allowances, we may properly associate with Rousseau certain naturalistic elements that enter into their conception of the state. To look on this conception merely as a mediæval survival is an error. The tendency to set country over all (Deutschland über alles), to make a religion of country, is not mediæval, but Rousseauistic. The Middle Ages tended rather to the opposite extreme, to subordinate unduly the temporal to the spiritual power. The God to whom the Hohenzollerns make such frequent and fluent appeal is, far more than the God of the Middle Ages, a tribal God. Rousseau wished universal military service instead of a professional army; he wished these citizen soldiers to be the mere passive instruments of the general will; he wished them to be inflamed to the highest pitch with national sentiment, and then it mattered little to him, as we have seen, if they were ruthless to foreigners. This type of nationalism has obvious points of contact with Hegel's theory of the absolute state and other similar theories in more recent German thought. But it is idle to make a universal scapegoat of either Rousseau or Kultur. The movement antedates Rousseau, and it ran through the full cycle of its political consequences—for example, in the Revolution and Napoleonic wars—long before the present conflict.

This international background of the war is not its only aspect, but it is surely worth considering, and seems to me to have been considered thus far very slightly. It has the advantage of disturbing our complacency, of raising the question whether other nations as well as Germany are not moving away from rather than towards civilization. If we do not like German Rousseauism, it is wholesome to reflect that Rousseauism is also rampant in America, especially in our education, where it is likely to do most harm.

VII.

Are we living in an age that has gone wrong on first principles, and if so, what is the remedy? Joubert said that the only cure for Rousseau is true religion. I should venture to add: and true humanism. When all the chimeras and extremes are abolished, there remain humanism and religion. Now it is not strictly necessary to get either one's humanism or one's religion through the traditional channels; but if they are separated from tradition, the rôle of the critical faculties at once becomes all important. It is only

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by the use of these faculties that new standards may be built up to take the place of what has been discarded. A man who elects to walk by the inner light may be either a sage or a candidate for Bedlam. Every doctrine of the inner light needs therefore to be protected by a powerful dialectic.

Rousseau for his part seeks to found a doctrine of the inner light on the ruin of the critical faculties. ("The man who reflects," he says, "is a depraved animal.") He reduces everything to conscience, and then sentimentalizes conscience; he abdicates intellect in the hope of finding in feeling and instinct the equivalent of insight. The result is writing that has imaginative prestige and emotional appeal without human reality. The strength of Rousseauism in all its varieties is that it satisfies man's deep need for enthusiasm. Its weakness is that the enthusiasm it arouses will not bear critical scrutiny. This uncritical enthusiasm has been defined as the "rapturous disintegration of civilized human nature."

Yet enthusiasm and judgment may come together, after all. Their coming together is felt always as inspired and imaginative good sense. We are told that during his last years Rousseau was wont to compare himself more or less definitely to Jesus, though it is fair to add that he once rebuked a youthful disciple who put him above Jesus. In one respect there is some analogy. Rousseau has perhaps had more influence than any single person since Jesus. As interpreted by Jean-Jacques, Jesus becomes, in the words of M. Masson, "a sort of grand master of the golden age."* If this interpretation were correct, one might carry the analogy still further; for this is just what Rousseau himself is—a grand master of the golden age. But Jesus is not, like Rousseau, an Arcadian dreamer. He faces the facts of life and he faces them with inspired and imaginative good sense.

The whole difference between Rousseau and Jesus, so far as the political problem is concerned, is summed up in the precept: Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and to God the things that are God's. No Christian precept is more necessary and none has proved more unpalatable to ordinary human nature. The Church itself has tried to get around it in various ways from a very early period and always with disastrous results. But because historical Christianity has been guilty of grave confusions between the spiritual and the temporal order it does not follow that the confusions now being indulged in by those who put either humanity or country "over all" are any the less deadly. The man who sings religious hymns at a political convention may call himself a Christian, but is in fact a follower of Rousseau. He has transferred the drama of salvation from the breast of the individual, where, according to Jesus, it belongs, to society. The "uplift" is the only religion of an increasing number of Americans, and the "uplift" is a sham religion. We shall escape from the imperialistic madness (and we should remember that the pure commercialist is only the advance agent of imperialism) not by "idealism" of the "uplift" type, but by the sternest realism; but realism according to the human and not according to the natural law.

Who is to decide, some one may ask, between Jesus and either the nationalist or the internationalist of the Rousseauistic type, who both confuse, though in different ways, the things of God and the things of Cæsar? The reply is to be found in the supreme example of the inspired good sense of Jesus: By their fruits shall ye know them. If any one still thinks that merely altruistic motives avail to check the expansion of egoistic impulse, especially of the lust for power, in individuals or nations, let him look around him. Humanitarianism has manifestly failed to exercise ethical control. Now one of the first uses of science when emancipated from ethical control is, in Burke's phrase, to "improve the mystery of murder." The combination of formidable scientific and material efficiency with moral and spiritual inefficiency is turning life into a hell right before our eyes. The world has had a decisive experience of supermen and supernations from the Napoleonic wars to the present age of horrors. No more decisive experience indeed can be imagined short of the suicide of the planet. Corsica, we are told, has triumphed over Galilee; but all that Corsica has triumphed over is a humanitarian phantom. Galilee has, on the contrary, been justified against Rousseau and the sentimentalists.

IRVING BABBITT

La Religion de J. J. Rousseau, par P. M. Masson. 3 vols. Hachette, 1916; a work that traces the whole religious development in France from the beginning of the 18th century to Chateaubriand. Lieut. Masson, who was before the war professor of French Literature at Fribourg (Switzerland), was instantly killed in the fighting in the Argonne last April.

American Volunteer Ambulance Corps

"FOR more than twenty months it has given continual proof of the most complete spirit of self-sacrifice. It has rendered the greatest service to the division to which it has been attached, by assuring the removal of wounded men under the best conditions. There is not one of its members who is not a model of sangfroid and devotion. Several of them have been wounded." These words of a French army order, referring to the American Volunteer Ambulance Corps, under Mr. Richard Norton, illumine one of the features of the great European struggle on which the humane and the sensitive can dwell with least repugnance. If there is ever any natural grudge on the part of the war-worn belligerent against the happy immunity of the neutral, nothing tends more quickly to assuage it than the contemplation of such marvellous examples of human kindliness as the Americans have shown in feeding the hungry and succoring the sick and wounded victims of the great war. Even those of us whose admiration of American ideals may have misled them into an unreasonable expectation of America's rôle in this crisis of humanity, cannot but be deeply touched and cordially grateful for such manifestations of America's big-hearted sympathy for the suffering, and her lavish generosity in pouring in material alleviations of every kind. Next to having Americans fighting with us shoulder to shoulder for human freedom and for civilization as we and they understand it, we appreciate their comradeship in minimizing so far as possible the evils inseparable from our gigantic task.

The words at the head of this letter were used when the American Corps was selected as one of the very few to receive the honor of being "cité" in French army orders. This citation is equivalent to the grant of the Croix de Guerre to an individual, and gives Mr. Norton's convoy the right to paint that much-coveted emblem on its cars. Fortune, however, affords opportunity for gradation of honor even where all are worthy; and the Croix de Guerre has also

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been awarded specially to several members of the convoy. Mr. Norton himself has worn the distinction for many months. More recently the cross has been awarded to Mr. Jack Wendell and Mr. H. H. Hollinshed, who were both wounded in their courageous response to a mistaken order that summoned them and their car into a position of needless exposure. The cross was also awarded to Mr. Lawrence McCreery and the chauffeur, Harden, who volunteered with great gallantry to look for and bring in Hollinshed and Wendell—a task which they successfully accomplished. The same mistaken order also resulted in the death of one *brancardier* and the wounding of four others. Still more recently the cross has been won by Mr. William P. Clyde, of New York, and Mr. Caleb James Coatsworth, of Buffalo, for their exceptional services. Mr. Clyde is a Yale man who has been in continuous service with the corps for a year and a half. His "citation" intimates that he, as a "voluntaire pour une mission périlleuse s'en est acquitté avec un sang-froid remarquable, sous un feu intense et continu. Il a donné, au cours de la campagne, de nombreuses preuves de son mépris du danger et de son esprit de sacrifice." Other members of the convoy who have been similarly decorated are Mr. Spencer Hurst, who has been at work for about a year, and Leon Rapoport, a French chauffeur.

It is not surprising to learn that the headquarters of the convoy have latterly been in the neighborhood of Verdun, and that it has been ministering to the *poilus* engaged in the heroic and long-drawn-out struggle in defence of that position. It reached what might be called its first Verdun camp on June 8, and thereafter had some weeks of extraordinary activity. During this period the men were at work night and day, having to do without sleep except at rare intervals and snatching their food how and when they could. Though many of the cars were hit, no serious casualties were suffered other than those already mentioned. A shell on one occasion burst within twenty feet of Mr. Norton, wrecking his car and slightly wounding his companion, Mr. L. H. Northrop.

Later the convoy was supposed to be "en repos" at a small town a little behind Verdun. This "repose," however, was by no means stagnation, as the cars still coöperated with the French ambulances by receiving cases brought to posts in the rear of the line and removing them to hospitals still farther back. At each of such posts, two cars and four men are on duty for twenty-four hours every two days. Their rest simply means that their work is not absolutely continuous. The score or so of tents forming the camp of the corps are pitched in a beautiful meadow on the banks of the Meuse; and in the centre is the large wagon-tent of Mr. Norton, where he is kept busy dealing with reports, complaints, instructions, and a constant stream of visitors.

Mr. Harjes, head of the American Red Cross in France, is now associated with Mr. Norton in the general management of the American Volunteer Ambulance service in the French army. Their great object is to increase the number of convoys now at work, for the demand is ever on the increase. A convoy consists, as a unit, of twenty ambulance cars, a lorry, a workshop-car, and a kitchen-car. Only cars of large and powerful make are adequate for the work. Cars, men, and money are all wanted. According to a military ruling of the French Government, all members who join have to sign on for six months. The average cost of a car, with all its appurtenances, is from $2,500 to $3,000. The American representatives of the corps are Mr. Eliot Norton (2 Rector Street, New York) and Mr. F. C. Havemeyer (129 Front Street, New York).

JAMES F. MUIRHEAD

London, December 10

The Winter Scene

I.

The rutted roads are all like iron; skies
Are keen and brilliant; only the oak-leaves cling
In the bare woods, or hardy bitter-sweet;
Drivers have put their sheepskin jackets on;
And all the ponds are sealed with sheeted ice
That rings with stroke of skate and hockey-stick,
Or in the twilight cracks with running whoop.
Bring in the logs of oak and hickory,
And make an ample blaze on the wide hearth.
Now is the time, with winter o'er the world,
For books and friends and yellow candle-light,
And timeless lingering by the settling fire,
While all the shuddering stars are keen with cold.

II.

Out of the silent portal of the hours,
When frosts are come and all the hosts put on
Their burnished gear to march across the night
And o'er a darkened earth in splendor shine,
Slowly above the world Orion wheels
His glittering square, while on the shadowy hill
And throbbing like a sea-light through the dusk,
Great Sirius rises in his flashing blue.
Lord of the winter night, august and pure,
Returning year on year untouched by time,
To kindle faith with thy immortal fire,
There are no hurts that beauty cannot ease,
No ills that love cannot at last repair,
In the courageous progress of the soul.

III.

Russet and white and gray is the oak wood
In the great snow. Still from the North it comes,
Whispering, settling, sifting through the trees,
O'erloading branch and twig. The road is lost.
Clearing and meadow, stream and ice-bound pond
Are made once more a trackless wilderness
In the white hush where not a creature stirs;
And the pale sun is blotted from the sky.
In that strange twilight the lone traveller halts
To listen while the stealthy snowflakes fall.
And then far off toward the Stamford shore,
Where through the storm the coastwise liners go,
Faint and recurrent on the muffled air,
A foghorn booming through the smother,—hark!

IV.

When the day changed and the mad wind died down,
The powdery drifts that all day long had blown
Across the meadows and the open fields,
Or whirled like diamond dust in the bright sun,
Settled to rest, and for a tranquil hour

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The lengthening bluish shadows on the snow
Stole down the orchard slope, and a rose light
Flooded the earth with glory and with peace.
Then in the west behind the cedars black
The sinking sun made red the winter dusk
With sullen flare along the snowy ridge,—
Like a rare masterpiece by Hokusai,
Where on a background gray, with flaming breath
The crimson dragon dies in dusky gold.

BLISS CARMAN

Correspondence

THE UNITED STATES OF TO-MORROW

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Last spring the leading business men of New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago entered upon a vigorous campaign of publicity on behalf of a better military organization of the United States. Great parades were arranged. The newspapers were enlisted; the department stores gave holidays on condition that their employees would march; railway officials and bank directors lent their powerful influence; and hundreds of thousands joined in the demonstrations. The little cities followed the big ones and county papers reprinted the stories of the remarkable things which they found in the columns of their exchanges. Even President Wilson marched in a parade.

The object of all these demonstrations was primarily to stir up and consolidate support for the Republican party and its nominee, to defeat Wilson, and secondly, if that were done, to build a stronger militarist party which, combining all the larger industrial and commercial interests, would be able to organize the United States for aggressive commercial movements and at the same time hold the older forces of the Republicans together in support of a militarist programme at home which should in the event of war enable them to rally the strength of a hundred million people to their cause.

The plan failed in the recent election and sore discouragement characterized remarks and attitude of the greater business leaders of the East and the Middle West for some time after November 7. But able and wealthy men are not easily deterred from their purpose. There are many who believe now that they would have been successful in the recent campaign if they had only spent a little more money in close States. And now they begin again with devoted zeal and consecrated purse.

We see the fruits of their activity in every big city of the country. The great daily papers print stories of the woful state of unpreparedness of the country every day. Editorial comment is not lacking. School boards are besought to introduce military training in the public schools and universities are trying to persuade their students to submit to military drill. Circular letters are written from New York offices to teachers of history begging them to revise our history in order to emphasize the need of standing armies and a disciplined population. Somebody is putting plenty of money into the campaign, and it seems to "go."

What does all this mean? Did the wealth of the colonies flow into the hands of the Revolutionists of 1776? Did the New York and Philadelphia bankers and manufacturers of 1860 contribute of their millions towards the election of Abraham Lincoln? One hardly needs to answer these questions with a negative. Such is not the historical rôle of great accumulations of wealth.

But now, as in 1896, the conservative forces, the men whose incomes run to the millions, are profoundly concerned in the policy of the country. They are willing to spend whatever amounts may be found necessary to accomplish their purpose. They are frightened by the war in Europe, because it seems, first, that in some vague way the military Powers of the far side of the Atlantic may speedily treat the United States to a régime like that to which Belgium has been subjected; and secondly, that there must come labor or trade troubles in this country as soon as the great war ends.

Now, the people of the United States have inherited the "prejudices" of the English democracy against standing armies. The menace of a standing army to them is a part of their creed that cannot be lightly disposed of. Labor will have no such army; the farmer will not think of universal service and the small business man will not endure the huge taxes which armies involve. What shall be done to revolutionize the policy of four hundred years and set all America to drilling like Prussia under Frederic the Great?

The campaign which we see in the morning papers is waged to that end. Our people must first be scared by pictures of the invasion that will surely come, for "we are rich and riches must attract robber nations." To this end the "movie" is now doing yeoman service. Then we must be made ashamed of our weakness. And here we have the fine example of Mexico, whose bandit leaders come over and rob us at will. The United States navy is a mere joke, and the people must understand this, so Josephus Daniels is made the butt of every possible tale. Our whole history has been one long military disgrace, and hence historians are now set to work to "show it up" and warn future generations to take a wiser course, the course of Prussia.

Next, every meeting that can be improvised, every luncheon of business men is used, on occasion, to show that we must arm, we must arm or we shall go the way of Belgium or Servia. On December 16 Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip declared to the Midday Club lunchers in Chicago that universal military service is our only hope; Mr. Lindley M. Garrison told the New York Lawyers Club the same thing in slightly different terms; and the new Governor of Indiana urged the assembled Governors of the States in Washington to adopt resolutions looking to the same end. Agitation, expenditure of good money in hand, tampering with the curricula of the colleges and the public schools, and urging Congress are their methods. Sam Adams would be a novitiate in comparison with some of these fomenters of social change and revolution, for revolution is their end, revolution backwards.

All this would be absurd but for the dangers of it. The people have been teased and coaxed into a feeling that somehow we are in imminent peril of invasion; at least the dwellers in cities, the clerks and aids of business, the lawyers who plead Trust cases in courts, and the preachers in the great city pulpits seem to have been won. Historians and publicists, too, have lost their bearings, and already we see the fruits of their new-born faith in books that ridicule much that has hitherto been counted as semi-

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sacred, in elaborate collections of quotations from Washington and other patriots designed to show that standing armies and universal service were the objectives even in Revolutionary times of all sensible men.

Have we taken the time to consider what danger lurks in these changes and in the disposition on the part of the people to yield? At present American manufacturers are just beginning their invasion of foreign markets. For a century their one objective was the monopoly of the domestic trade, a magnificent monopoly, indeed, which has been in the main granted. Now, with the advantage of this unequalled domestic support, they turn to foreign markets and, without yielding anything, demand the trade of other countries. The great war has given them advantages which are likely to be lost at the end.

Meanwhile our business men have organized in a way which enables them to speak to Congress and to the President in tones that cannot be misunderstood. The United States Chamber of Commerce with headquarters in Washington is a more potent institution than the Department of Commerce; its manager is informed in the intricacies of trade in ways utterly unknown to the older days of lobbying or outright bribery. Business men now speak from the housetops. They work through railway organizations, chambers of commerce, and associations of banks, and their influence is potent.

Thus they are ready to spend their energies and their wealth intelligently to attain their ends. This is legitimate. What is, perhaps, not legitimate is their effort to revolutionize American ideals and purposes. If they can make of us a military nation, we shall become a menace to the world's peace. If that should be brought about, we should no longer be the democracy we have been. With every man in the army, even for a short season, we should have standing troops enough to overawe people and make obsolete such things as strikes. And with such a force behind them, the commercial leaders could, like the German commercial leaders, keep the world on tenter hooks, browbeating here, intimidating there, and rattling the sabre elsewhere until there would be no way to resist us. In a few years there will be a hundred and fifty millions of us, and, after all that is happening in Europe, who could gainsay the United States with twice the wealth of Europe and twice as many trained soldiers as any likely opponent could set over against us?

This is no mere chimera. It is the purpose of many who are now driving hard the propaganda of militarism, of men who usually have their way in our country. The President is half-convinced that a standing army, or at least universal military service, is necessary for the assertion of American authority in the world. The people are beginning to be ashamed of the so-called weakness of their country, and Congress seems to be yielding to the fears of men who live in the coast towns.

Moreover, this is the way similar changes have been wrought in the past. Prussia moved in the same way when she began her greater Germany propaganda. Her public leaders declared that for self-defence every German should bear arms. Professors taught their students that invasion was always imminent, that they must always wear their swords ready for an encounter. The teachers in the common schools told the children about their hereditary enemies and warned constantly that only through a big standing army was safety possible. Preachers and lawyers and merchant princes and shipowners told the same tale till everybody believed it.

Consequently the peace-loving and democratic Germany of 1850 was converted into the fiercest military machine the world has ever known. With such power ready for the wielding, it was no wonder that the Kaiser rattled his sword, that business men declared that they must have markets, that shipowners could never be satisfied to see English competitors on the ocean. It came to navy leagues and trade associations, to agitations for war at the drop of the hat, and to demands for new territory at the expense of other peoples. The rule of might was as natural to them as it will become to us if our militarist campaign succeeds. Human nature under a German skin is not different from human nature under an American skin. Given the power, the wealth, and the social organization of two or three Germanys, as we should certainly have in two or three decades if we once entered upon the new policy, there would be no way to prevent our leadership from doing the same kind of things that we now see done in the name of self-defence.

To any true American, especially to any democrat, this would be worse than the abdication of all we stand for, the bankruptcy of a country from which humanity had expected so much. Shall we who foresee such consequences tamely submit to what is now being done and urged in every city and from the columns of most of our newspapers?

W. E. Dodd

University of Chicago, January 5

INDIGNATION MEETINGS OVER BELGIUM

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: On December 20 a mass meeting was held in the town of Oxford, Ohio, to protest against the deportation of the Belgians by the German Government. As no newspaper is published in Oxford, the citizens were summoned by means of handbills distributed from house to house. At the meeting, over which the Mayor presided, a resolution was passed to "approve the action already taken by our Government and pledge it our support in any further steps it may see fit to take in its endeavor to prevent further deportations." Copies of this resolution were sent to Mr. Lansing and to our Representatives in Congress.

It is only by such common action as this that we can integrate our individual indignation at Germany's crimes into one united expression of condemnation. No village is too small or too remote to follow the example of our large cities in publicly voicing the protest of the inhabitants.

Anne Sykes Williams

Oxford, Ohio, January 12

BAILEY VS. BAILEY

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I, too, was one of those who lifted up their voices in an attempt to retrieve the Baileys' domestic collapse. As none of us then knew why Bill had left home, we were all naturally partisans for Mrs. Bailey, and on the unconditional terms she was prepared to offer we seemed justified in hoping that a reconciliation could be effected—if only we could lay our hands on Bill.

Meanwhile his spouse installed herself as a heroine in the popular imagination. To the former type of Penelope

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and Griselda she added the piquant variation of boasting at least partial economic independence:

> I'll take in washing,
> I'll pay the rent—
> Bill Bailey, won't you *please* come home?

To the thoughtless mind of youth this seemed to imply that Bill had fallen down in the rôle of family provider—that tribute to the butcher and the baker had irked his free spirit. Yet were we unjust? May there not have been faults on both sides? In the light of his return, I am inclined to think so.

For Bill has boldly come home at a time when conditions are even harder than they were fifteen years ago. It is doubtful if Mrs. Bailey can now make good her boast to pay the rent by taking in double the washings. And Bill has brought with him no savings of an industrious interval, no find of pirate gold. Clearly he feels competent unaided to keep the wolf from his door.

But he has returned armed against a subtler foe of the hearthside, and now of an evening when Mrs. Bailey looses her tongue in criticism Mr. Bailey has his ukulele. With its first magic note his wife sees him escaping on the beat of fancy's wing over the domestic horizon to some far isle —mayhap to the society of "a neater sweeter maiden in a cleaner greener land."

And Mrs. Bailey has learned her lesson.

On tip-toe and in silence she sets about preparing "a relish"—the Biblical veal chop—for her William's supper. Home has come to Bill at last. CHAPIN HOWARD

Grafton, Windham County, Vt., January 8

"EL SUPREMO"

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: No reviewer of Mr. E. L. White's "El Supremo" has noticed, so far as I am aware, that the book answers a remarkable challenge made by Carlyle in his essay on the Dictator of Paraguay, Dr. Francia:

> Francia, dictator of Paraguay, is, at present [1843] to the European mind, little other than a chimera; at best, the statement of a puzzle, to which the solution is still to seek. As the Paraguenos, though not a literary people, can many of them spell and write, and are not without a discriminating sense of true and untrue, why should not some real *Life of Francia*, from those parts, be still possible! If a writer of genius arise there, he is hereby invited to the enterprise. Surely in all places your writing genius ought to rejoice over an acting genius, when he falls-in with such; and say to himself: "Here or nowhere is the thing for me to write of! Why do I keep pen-and-ink at all, if not to apprise men of this singular acting genius, and the like of him? My fine-arts and æsthetics, my epics, literatures, poetics, if I will think of it, do all at bottom mean either that or else nothing whatever!"

Further on in the essay Carlyle unburdens himself over the "Letters on Paraguay" by the brothers Robertson. Mr. White dedicates his book to "their scandalized and indignant ghosts." In "El Supremo" the writer evidently undertakes to solve the puzzle offered by Carlyle. With Carlyle's essay in the background, "El Supremo" is not wanting in marks of the genius to which he appealed. These marks are to be found in a prodigal creation of characters, incidents, objects, and situations.

The romance is a sympathetic study of a dictator; and no South American dictator can be foreign to our interests. If, as a distinguished writer in the *Quarterly Review* for last July prophesies, South America will be half-caste within the next two generations, then the type of "acting genius," capable of governing, will be no less interesting. In his description of Francia, based, as the writer assures us, upon sources, it is just possible that Mr. White has produced a book that will be translated into Spanish, and that will give evidence of our literary adoption, at least, of one country far to the south. By the side of Bureaus and Pan-American Congresses "El Supremo" is important, in subject-matter and extent, quite irrespective of any failure to satisfy academic theories of what a romance should be, or of faults of construction, diction, or what not. The cleverness of Mr. White's verse lampoon is enough to make a reader curious as to what his surprising fancy will do next. One might double Carlyle's lead, and play the Mexican kaleidoscope as offering color equal to that of Francia's Paraguay. If, as Fielding opined, the greatest man is he who causes the most misery, are not the raids and tergiversations of Villa matter for epic? W. P. REEVES

Gambier, O., December 19

BOOKS

Pre-Reformation Thought

The Movement Toward Catholic Reform in the Early Sixteenth Century. By George V. Jourdan. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company. $2.50 net.

THE phrase "Catholic Reform" suggests something quite different from the subject of this book. It ordinarily means effort at reform of the Church undertaken by the Catholic administration itself. It has significance only when it is contrasted with reformatory effort by other forces within Christianity. Chronologically it suggests the period when the Protestant schism had become pronounced, and something must be done to counteract its influence. As used by Mr. Jourdan it loses all specific meaning, since in the period he attempts to characterize there could be no reform in the West that was not Catholic, for the simple reason that there were no Western Christians who were not Catholics. Even Luther, who is included in this survey, was as far as any one could be from any intention of deserting the Catholic fellowship until he was forced out of it. This departure from the conventional usage seems to have caused the author some scruples, for he spends considerable space in his Introduction upon a justification of his phrase.

In fact, the book is a series of sketches of the contributions by the principal leaders of what is often called "pre-reformation thought" to the great reform of the sixteenth century. If there is a central figure, it is Erasmus, who appears in connection with every one of the movements described. His writings are freely quoted, but there is no systematic attempt to place him in his true position as a leader of opinion. The rest of the champions of reform are treated, partly biographically and partly in relation to one or another phase of the reform movement itself. The earliest of them is Savonarola, from whom, according to the opinion of the author, the others, beginning with Colet in England, received their impulse. He admits that evidence of this, notably in Colet's case, is not directly available, but he thinks that circumstances throw the burden of proof on the other side. In the treatment of Colet we are intro-

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duced to what seems a favorite thought of Mr. Jourdan, that humanism as such is to be kept carefully apart from reformatory effort. Colet, he assures us, was no humanist; in his teaching of the Pauline Epistles, it was rather the freedom from scholastic obscurantism, the appeal to plain common-sense, that commended him to the attention of all classes at the university. But we may fairly ask whether this very quality was not a characteristic of humanism at its best. If we think only of its Italian phase, we may well hesitate to use the word of Colet and many another northern exponent of a renewed and reinvigorated Christian scholarship; but was it not precisely its humane quality, kept always in the service of a sincere faith, that distinguished this scholarship from what went before? Luther, also, Mr. Jourdan reminds us, was no humanist, but he again was led to shape his thought into humane forms largely through his early interest in liberal studies.

While it would be going too far to call this an original or even an important contribution to Reformation literature, it is to be commended as a readable presentation of a phase of reform usually obscured by the greater dramatic interest of the period immediately following. It leads us into the currents of criticism in Germany, England, and France, and shows how these were all tending towards the climax that was to demonstrate the futility of reform within the party—Catholic reform in our author's sense—and the inevitableness of a breach with the whole doctrine and practice of the Church so far as organization and the principle of authority were concerned.

El Islam

Mohammedanism. Lectures on Its Origin, Its Religious and Political Growth and Its Present State. By C. Snouck Hurgronje. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. $1.50 net.

WE have waited for these lectures and they are well worth the waiting. Delivered in 1914 under the auspices of the American Committee for Lectures on the History of Religions, they antedate the conflict of the last two years with the rapid developments which it has brought everywhere and not least in the world of Islam; thus is to be explained the reference on p. 171 to "the present khedive," although that ruler and his title have now both vanished. To the understanding of these Moslem developments this book forms an admirable introduction. For, throughout, it looks towards the present—at least towards the present of two years ago—and treats Islam as an organism in process of growth, not as a fixed, crystallized event to be represented by an abundance of historical facts, names, and dates. Of these there are astonishingly few here. The broad drifts are sketched with their meaning, course, and goal, and we are led up to the Islam that is our neighbor and with which we have now to do, and ever more and more intimately. But naturally this presupposes a knowledge of the main points of Moslem history, and without such knowledge this book may be somewhat elusive and hard to hold in the memory. But that is of its method. A sketch of Islam in 178 pages must be either of the spirit or of the body, elusive or a chunk of so-called facts.

On another side we have here matured judgments, very simply and directly stated, on a number of the historical and constitutional problems of Islam at present in dispute among scholars. These judgments could mostly have been gathered from Professor Hurgronje's other books; but they are here given together and in short. Thus, from the first lecture on the origin of Islam, we see that he fully accepts, with its consequences, Goldziher's assertion of the unhistorical character of the mass of normative traditions with its further application to the biography of Mohammed worked out by Caetani and Lammens. Also that Mohammed thought of his mission as bounded by Arabia and not as extending to the whole world, in this again accompanying Lammens as opposed to Nöldeke. Also he criticises the economic explanation of the Moslem conquests that is now so popular, although he would apparently allow it some weight. Casanova's eschatological hypothesis is rather contemptuously rejected. On the character of Mohammed he proceeds with great caution and evidently dislikes psychological and pathological speculations. This apparently has led him to ignore Mohammed's place as a poet *manqué* in the literary period which was drawing to a close in his time, and as a soothsayer or *kahin* in his religious world. Yet his relationships on both these sides were clearly recognized by his contemporaries and still stand out for us. To ignore them as part, though not the essential part, of his life is to repeat Wellhausen's mistake of separating Samuel from the orgiastic bands of *nebhi'im;* Islam in its development has itself shown its greatest theologians joining in the ecstasies of dervishes. The lower phenomena of the religious life can exist alongside of the highest spirituality, and in Mohammed's case demonstrably did. Further, of Mohammed's sincerity at Medina as well as at Mecca Professor Hurgronje has no doubt. There is no sign, he urges (p. 38), of any break, and "real enthusiasm" may "end in cold, prosaic calculation without a trace of hypocrisy." But what if the "prophet" has to put forth his "cold, prosaic calculation"—selfish and ignoble enough, too, at times—as the *ipsissima verba dei* and to exhibit when putting them forth signs of a prophetic possession and frenzy which do not exist? Under these conditions Mohammed must have known very well what he was about, and that these "revelations" came immediately from his conscious brain and were no automatically received outpourings from the spiritual world. It is significant, too, that to maintain this unity of character Professor Hurgronje has somewhat to lower the spirituality of the Meccan period. This, however, may be due to his objection to any enthusiasm in statement.

In the sketch given of early European study of these problems poor Marracci, as usual, comes off ill. The absurdities and theological billingsgate of his "Refutatio" outweigh the labor and patient learning of his Koran text, translation, and commentary, although in width and accuracy of such Koranic knowledge he stood alone in his time, and in some points is hardly overtaken even yet. All succeeding translators have been influenced by him from George Sale down, and greatly through Sale as intermediary. This neglect of Marracci is, of course, only part of the general neglect of the Roman Arabic school of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; *vixerunt fortes ante De Sacy!*

It would be hopeless to attempt a detailed review of the second and third lectures on the religious and political development of Islam. Their analyses, grouping and displaying the streams of influence, of growth and of decay, are masterly to a degree. Naturally the importance of

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the principle of the Agreement of the Moslem people is emphasized and the true character of the Caliphate is shown. In the investigation of both of these points Professor Hurgronje has merited well of the world. For they are of world importance and no matters of mere history and scholarship. If our State Department had understood them it would never have committed the blunder of a special mission to the Ottoman Sultan on Philippino-Moslem affairs. The balance, too, is held very fairly between the mystical religious experience, the scholastic developments of the systematic theologians, and the crystallized and detailed decisions of the canonists. Yet it is plain that Professor Hurgronje's interests are not primarily theological, and he has little or nothing on so fundamental a vehicle of the religious life as the dervish fraternities. Enthusiasm, we may again gather, he does not view with favor.

And so the reader—as perhaps, too, did the writer—will close the last chapter on Islam and modern thought with a touch of disappointment and depression. There can be no question that the small proportion of educated Moslems really reached by the West can adjust themselves, or at least conform, to the modern world. All that will hold them back will be a patriotism, or perhaps better a *pietas*, for their fathers and their past. Theology and law, under the guidance of the Agreement, can make themselves over into any needed form. But what of the untouched masses in whom the old Islam still lives unchanged and to whom it is no intellectual system but a religion, an intense reality not to be twisted in a few years into something quite different? And Professor Hurgronje is under no illusions as to the attitudes of that old Islam. The three generations of "broad-minded" perversion and suppression which began, roughly, with David Urquhart are now fairly over and scholars against whom no charge of religious prejudice can lie are speaking freely. So here, in a few very keen and discriminating pages, the handicaps upon Islam which are of the essence of Islam are analyzed before us. Historical parallels and the possibility of reform by development which these suggest are stated and admitted. But the fact at the end of the analysis remains that the personal law of Islam, including the status of woman and the relation of the Moslem and the non-Moslem worlds, have by the Agreement been crystallized and made, since a thousand years, theoretically forever unchangeable. Especially —and this is soaked and dyed into the thinking of all the masses of Islam—Moslem and non-Moslem states must forever be at war until the world is conquered for Islam. Even between Moslem and non-Moslem individuals there can, in theory, be no human brotherhood or true friendship. Against that there are the Koran and traditions from the Prophet, and the Agreement with its final seal. The particularism of Judaism is no parallel to this, for behind it, modifying and humanizing it, lie the Hebrew scriptures with their reiteration of the universal fatherhood of God and the common brotherhood of man. Can, then, the masses of Islam be moved into a new and utterly opposed attitude without the working of some deep and emotional causes? And, if these masses are so moved, will it not be to them as if they were no longer Moslems? Professor Hurgronje speaks of education. It will have to be an education going down into the roots of the being of the Moslem peoples and producing for them a new heaven and a new earth.

W. H. Hudson

Tales of the Pampas. By W. H. Hudson. New York: A. A. Knopf.

THOSE who have become interested in the work of W. H. Hudson will open this volume with a keen curiosity. They will wish to know whether the atmospheric charm and the sincere nature-worship of "Green Mansions" have been continued here with anything like the same artistry. They will demand whether the rising vogue of Hudson amounts to a genuine literary revival or whether it depends simply on a happy accident followed by a publishers' boom.

These tales are partly republications, partly new versions of old material. But in either case they belong to past generations both by their themes and by their treatment. The place is South America, especially the Argentine, of nearly a century ago; the individual manner is equally aloof from present-day considerations.

"El Ombú," the first *nouvelle,* concerns a series of fatalities befalling a house—one is reminded of the importance attached to the House in "The Crystal Age"—and it attempts to combine several distinct stories with various irrelevant episodes. The result gives the keynote of Mr. Hudson's manner. As plot, his story-telling is decidedly scrappy, leisurely, naïve. Such unity as he gets is a unity of temperament and atmosphere, sustained in this case through the narrative medium of an old Spaniard, whose style and psychology are admirably rendered.

Like qualities appear in "Marta Riquelme," a tale of *diablerie* narrated by a Spanish monk. One is interested chiefly in the depiction of this monk's mental state, which is divided between his missionary duty and his passion for a beautiful native, who finally becomes bewitched. The story, though rambling, has poignant situations and a fine finish. Witchcraft is again to the fore in "Pelino Viera's Confession," where the hero describes what results from the unfolding of his wife's true character—a misery rising to tragedy when he joins her wild *sabbat.* Mr. Hudson is not very convincing about his witchcraft, he scarcely gives us the shudder of the borderland, as does Algernon Blackwood; but this story is conducted with more skill, as regards preparations and climaxes, than any other with one exception. That exception is "Niño Diablo," which, for compression, force, and real interest, stands unique in the volume. From the initial brief description of a sunset on the pampas, through the domestic scene invaded by the suave Boy-Devil, past the revelation of his gallant character and exploits, down to the last deftly turned sentence, this is truly a *story.* Of all these tales, including two others that scarcely require analysis, "Niño Diablo" will most nearly satisfy modern taste.

But perhaps modern taste is wrong. Mr. Hudson would not wish to be classed primarily as a story-teller, and he would readily grant that he does not possess Maupassant's virtues. He is a naturalist plus a temperament. The winds of the lonely plains breathe over his work the very spirit of life in the open; and the charm of his own nature is added to the charm of Nature at large. An appealing simplicity, a direct vision, a hatred of cities, an understanding of humble Spanish life—these are his chief qualities. He thoroughly knows and depicts his material in its proper setting. His artistic sense is manifest in his dexterous

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use of local color; he weaves into the quaintly turned dialogue many allusions to local customs, especially to the flora and fauna of the region.

Mr. Hudson's language is frequently like John Bunyan's in its monosyllabic simplicity, but very imaginative in its total effect. This style can, however, in descriptive passages mount to the resonant power characteristic of the author's finest work. The sufferings of the dying Valerio and of the insane Marta are vigorously portrayed. Again we hear of Andean majesty, of mountains "rising like stupendous stairs," of the pampas with their plumy grasses, their verbenas and nettles, their armadillos and flamingos.

The Jarves Collection at Yale

A Descriptive Catalogue of the Pictures in the Jarves Collection Belonging to Yale University. By Osvald Sirén. New Haven: Yale University Press. $7.50 net.

WHEN in 1871 Yale University bid in the James Jackson Jarves collection for $22,000 it set a record in university finance. The purchase protected a loan of $20,000 made on the security of the pictures, which were fairly worth in these days of small prices $100,000. For more than ten years the collection had gone begging about the East, and it was a distinct good fortune that the greater part of it was held together. A considerable fraction has lately passed into the custody of the Cleveland Art Museum. But Yale's part is far the most important. In 1860, Mr. Jarves catalogued the pictures, very elaborately for the times, and in the hopeful spirit of a discoverer. Yale in 1872 enlisted a then young alumnus, Russell Sturgis, to compile the official booklet which is tardily superseded by Dr. Sirén's elaborate treatise. Sturgis was put under the hard conditions of accepting Jarves's attributions.

For more than twenty years what is one of our most remarkable collections of Italian Primitives lay *perdu* in the cheerless galleries of the Yale Art School. In the winter of 1893-4 the fine connoisseur, William Rankin, made a report on the collection, in Philadelphia, before the Archæological Institute, and a year later published his observations in its journal. He started a critical sifting which has been steadily continued by many experts, notably Bernard Berenson, F. Mason Perkins, and, latterly, Dr. Sirén. This external curiosity gradually worked upon the official inertia of the Yale Art School. First, about six years ago, the galleries were thoroughly overhauled and enlarged, and the pictures better hung. Then the more important panels were freed from old and clumsy repainting, with admirable results in the case of pictures by Gentile da Fabriano, Antonio Pollaiuolo, and Sandro Botticelli. Finally, Yale issues, to celebrate her Bicentenary, this superbly printed and fully illustrated catalogue, a worthy tribute to what is one of the most remarkable of university collections anywhere.

It indicates the cosmopolitanism of modern art studies that for her cataloguer Yale looks to the University of Stockholm, and it suggests a complete repentance of nearly fifty years of conservatism that Yale chooses one of the most radical of European experts and gives him a free hand. Dr. Sirén's catalogue is only less startling to moderate spirits than Jarves's was fifty-odd years ago. He has used the collection as a happy hunting-ground and, attributing pretty much everything to one master or another, he has "killed" all the game in sight. Dr. Sirén's memory and experience are great, his taste fine, his sympathies broad, his dialectic ingenious. Thus his catalogue is good to read, and in all respects stimulating. It inspires precisely that mingled fascination and misgiving which one felt in that remarkable survey of the Florentine *Trecento* which accompanied his brilliantly unsound book on Giottino.

While such free discussion of pictures is a means of approaching the truth, we do not feel that museums should sanction in their official catalogues too free an application of the method of trial and error. The rôle of a museum would seem to be one of conservatism. Its catalogues are not the places to make or establish new attributions. It should observe a shrewd skepticism, be content not to know, and admit only attributions that have proved themselves sound. It should stand apart from that process of competitive guessing which is militant connoisseurship. It is a pity that Yale has allowed Dr. Sirén to introduce so much contentious matter into this splendid catalogue that it may well become obsolete in its turn in a few years' space; specifically such attributions as Berlinghieri, Guido of Siena, Orcagna (No. 75), Ambrogio Baldese, Giusto di Andrea. Pseudo-Verrocchio, Baldovinetti, seem to us unfortunate items in an official catalogue.

Why shouldn't the *libido adscribendi* be indulged frankly as a method of trial and error? The vice of affixing names of artists to all the pictures extant may be shown in a word. We have in guild registers or other archives the names of four or five artists for every one by whom a signed or documented work is extant. It is to be presumed that not all the works of those artists to whose style we have no clue have perished. Indeed, there is no presumption of a higher rate of survival of works among the artists about whom we happen to be reasonably informed. In short, an enormous number of pictures by artists whose names only we know are falsely, if plausibly, attributed to the most resemblant artists whose pictures we happen to have identified.

In a work of this sort one properly requires complete and convenient citation of all the literature of the subject. In this regard Dr. Sirén is not thorough. He fails to note certain attributions which he himself has published, only to abandon later. Such trials are part of the record. His survey of the literature has vexatious gaps, while he has an irritating way of referring to an article without naming the author. Thus we have a single and inadequate reference to an excellent survey of the collection in *Revue de l'Art* without learning that it was written by François Monod. Besides the running references, there should be a stated bibliography in a work of this sort. In short, the free hand given to Dr. Sirén has imparted many of the defects of his brilliant connoisseurship to what should have been a soberly collective enterprise. Work of this kind should be done under the control either of the museum authorities or of an editorial committee, as the only safeguard against mere subjectivism.

Of the make-up of the fine octavo nothing but praise can be said. Fine paper, clear and open typography, more than four-score collotype illustrations, give the book a monumental scope. Every student of early Italian painting will need it. The representation of primitive Italian painting is impressive, with five examples from the thirteenth century, seventeen from the fourteenth, forty-seven from the fifteenth, and thirty-five from the sixteenth; with such rarities as Gentile da Fabriano, Girolamo da Cremona, Fiorenzo

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da Lorenzo, Antonio Pollaiuolo, and a great array of the normal loveliness of the Gothic and Early Renaissance schools of Florence and Siena. The Press of Yale University deserves commendation for the courage with which it has assumed the charge of so considerable an impression as 750 copies. It is to be hoped that there will follow in due time a popular edition recast along more conservative lines.

Notes

THE following volumes are announced in the February list of Frederick A. Stokes Company: "Bindle," by Herbert Jenkins; "In the Wilderness," by Robert Hichens; "Lydia of the Pines," by Honoré Willsie; "Gymnastic Problems," by Jakob Bolin; "Human Side of Trees," by Royal Dixon; "Poems and Parodies," by T. M. Kettle; "'Neath Verdun," by Maurice Genevoix; "A Short History of Ireland," by Constantia Maxwell.

J. B. Lippincott Co. is publishing this month "Oh, Mary, Be Careful," by George Weston, and "Rings," by George Kunz.

This week E. P. Dutton brings out "The Way Hearts Go," by Laurence Hayward, and "Sixty Years of American Life," by Everett P. Wheeler.

The Century Company announces that it has taken over and will publish henceforth the "Collected Plays and Poems" of Cale Young Rice. This house also announces "Succeeding with What You Have," by Charles M. Schwab.

The Macmillan Company will publish in the course of the next few weeks "Regiment of Women," by Clemence Dane, and "Soldier of Life," by Hugh de Selincourt.

SCRIBNERS announce for early spring publication the following volumes: "The Celt and the World," by Shane Leslie; "The Amateur Philosopher," by Carl H. Grabo; "The War, Madame," by Paul Geraldy, translated by W. B. Blake; "International Realities," and a new volume of the Original Narrative series, on the Northwest. Fiction: "The Castaways," by W. W. Jacobs; "The Children of the Desert," by Louis Dodge; two new volumes of "The Stories of H. C. Bunner"; "Jan and her Job," by L. Allen Harker; "Bringing Out Barbara," by Ethel Train; "Her Own Sort," by C. B. Davis, and "The Hiding Places," by Allen French. Scribners also announce "With the French Flying Corps," by Carroll Dana Winslow.

THE mysterious tragedy at Meyerling, in which the only son of the Emperor Francis Joseph was found dead with his mistress, has remained for more than a quarter of a century a sorrowful source of speculation to the curious. The world was informed officially at the time that it was a case of double suicide. But the world was never wholly convinced. "The Last Days of the Archduke Rudolph," edited by Hamil Grant, with seven illustrations (Dodd, Mead; $2.50 net), brings forward some suspicious looking circumstances which, if true, tend to show that both the unfortunates were murdered in the interests of the Hohenzollerns and the Vatican. The Archduke Rudolph was known to be a man who would be likely to make a ruler of more than ordinary vigor and liberal tendencies. In his political sagacity, his sporting proclivities, his democratic ways, and his cosmopolitan connections he resembled in many respects his friend, Edward, Prince of Wales. He might have been expected, after his accession, to restore to the Hapsburg monarchy some of the prestige which it lost in 1866. But his nationalistic plans for strengthening Austria and checking the Prussianization of Central Europe would have made his accession highly undesirable at Berlin. His liberalism would have been equally unwelcome at Rome. Hence the political motives for his removal by violence. The author absolves Bismarck of any complicity and mentions only subordinates in the Roman hierarchy. But he weaves together a string of ugly looking facts: forgeries of the Archduke's handwriting, which account for the letters beside his body alleging the intention of suicide, Prussian intrigues at Vienna, the presence of four Prussians near Meyerling on the eve of the tragedy, and much else.

ACCORDING to the anonymous author's own statement about himself, he was the Archduke's secretary and had good means of knowing these things. He comes, he says, of an Austrian family with Italian connections, was educated in the Jesuit schools of Feldkirch in Austria and Stonyhurst in Lancashire, but is better known as a friend of Viennese demi-mondaines and race-track speculators. The internal evidence in the book seems to bear out the truth of what he says about himself. It was evidently written since the outbreak of war in 1914, but professes to be based on notes in the author's diary which have been edited by Hamil Grant. Yet the gossipy conversations are clearly fabricated, though not in the crude manner of Armgaard Karl Graves, and betray an intense hatred of Prussia. As to the truth of the terrible insinuation which is the main theme of the book, we feel the same skepticism which we feel in regard to the belief, current in Europe, that the tragedy of Sarajevo, not without a mystery of its own, was engineered by German *agents provocateurs* fearful of Franz Ferdinand's Slavic policy. The author is something of a scoundrel in any event. If what he says is false, he libels Prussian officials anonymously by insinuating that they were accessory to one of the blackest deeds in history. If what he says is true, he was a scoundrel not to have revealed it, though at the risk of his life, in 1889.

MISS GERTRUDE BUCK, professor of English in Vassar College, has written a provocative little book entitled "The Social Criticism of Literature" (Yale University Press; $1 net), with chapters on the "muddle" of criticism, the "larger criticism," standards, and the function of the critic. Since she offers these chapters as only an essay towards the definition and explication of a portentous "new idea," we are perhaps not at liberty to complain that her discussion of standards is extremely vague. Two important points are, however, made perfectly clear: (1) The standards of social criticism must be democratic; (2) they must be in a perpetual state of flux, transition, or progress. Her literary theory, as she avows, springs out of the social philosophy of John Dewey. Much of her argument depends upon a "functional" definition of literature. "A book," she declares, "is, in philosophical terms, the writer's action transforming itself into the reader's reaction at the point of print." Under this definition we do not see how she can fairly object to our saying that we entertain no such conception of a book. Under this definition the dissentient opinion just expressed has become in some mysterious

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fashion a *part* of her book. In compensation, no arrogant critic can, under this definition, browbeat the public into admiration or detestation of Professor Buck's book as an absolutely good or an absolutely bad book. It is only *relatively* whatever it is; it and the standard by which it is measured are in perpetual flux. It flows into and out of existence at the will of its readers, and as it is dependent upon their coöperation for its being, so it also is dependent upon their characteristics for its quality—its value. Under this definition "Paradise Lost," to take another illustration, is *often* a very inferior book and the "Barrack Room Ballads" a very excellent one. The merit of the "social" critic will lie in his interpretation of the time. His function will somewhat resemble that of the ancient gentleman who brought Troilus and Cressida together. He will simply facilitate the union of author and reader in the creative act of reading. Perhaps all this flows inevitably enough out of Professor Dewey's philosophy. The reaction of common-sense is to say that though the readers of "Paradise Lost" are fluent and variable, "Paradise Lost" exists, apart from its relations, fixed and the same amidst the flux of opinion. It has the essentials of a standard—it stands and is established; it can serve as a measure of its readers. The more one reflects on this point the more clear it becomes that what Professor Buck offers us is not a social criticism of literature, but a literary criticism of society.

BRAND WHITLOCK'S "Abraham Lincoln," originally written for the series of Beacon Biographies, has been reissued in a revised edition, with a few illustrations (Small, Maynard; $1 net). The changes in the text are not important, but the book still remains the most readable of all the short biographies of Lincoln.

"POE'S Helen" is the romantic title of an unromantic ill-made book by Caroline Ticknor on and about Mrs. Sarah Helen Whitman (Scribner; $1.50 net). Despite the *ad captandum* title, Miss Ticknor sets out, apparently, to show that her heroine was a "mystical, poetic figure, quite as romantic as his [Poe's] own, whose claims to literary immortality should rest securely upon her own poetic contributions." But she makes no critical examination of the poetess's work, and the only significant evidence put in is a few of the lady's poems on Poe, which are not without merit. Her other evidence leaves one with a curiously unpleasant impression of a scribbling "literary" female, a widow with heart trouble, who loved adulation and repaid it in kind; who in her sentimental middle life enjoyed the excitement of Poe's agitated and more or less drunken courtship—and still more the recollection of it in later years when there was no danger that she should have to marry him; who disgustingly covered her face with a handkerchief dipped in ether when her marriage was opposed by her mother, eagerly supplied every petitioning biographer with excerpts from her love letters, and, at the age of seventy-five, laid down a life steeped in sentimentality and spiritualism, but devoid of passion. One seeks here in vain for a clear distinction between her and the other jealous and wrangling wives and widows of whom an English biographer said, "They all look upon Poe's fame as a convenient peg upon which to hang their own mediocrities where the world may see." The attachment of John Hay and George William Curtis is partly explained by her reverent reading and criticism of their verses, and partly by the fact that they met her when they were young and extremely "green," as their letters prove. The letters of Poe to Mrs. Whitman are—Miss Ticknor to the contrary notwithstanding—neither "unique" in their kind nor "classic" in their quality; they are among the most tasteless and shocking of his productions. The entire romance is—to adapt the lover's own description of his emotions—surrounded and bathed "in electric light." The submitted scraps of Mrs. Whitman's correspondence are generally commonplace. When the reader has become thoroughly tired of her, Miss Ticknor flings in his face a mass of tedious gossip about Poe's other women friends, a mass of trivial detail about the rival biographers, and a bundle of silly, worthless, and irrelevant letters of Mrs. Clemm. Mrs. Whitman may indeed have been, as Miss Ticknor says she was, of "fine calibre," but as she is here presented she appears to us rather a "great bore."

IF one is disappointed in the "Reminiscences of Lord O'Brien" (Longmans, Green; $2.50 net), it is because more would naturally have been expected of the Unionist Irish lawyer who rose to be Lord Chief Justice of Ireland in stirring times. But it was a rather meagre record which Lord O'Brien left prepared at his death (in 1914), and its piecing out in this volume by his daughter adds little of real consequence. Politically, the most important part of the book is that relating to the Irish Invincibles. The pages are but rarely lighted up by Irish wit, though the reader is often told, somewhat exasperatingly, of amusing stories or clever reports which he is asked to take on faith.

MR. C. R. WILLIAMS'S history of "The Cliosophic Society" (Princeton University Press; $1.50 net) is addressed primarily to his own brothers who have passed through that famous association, and secondarily to all Princeton men who have in memory a picture of the two classic buildings on the campus within which the mysteries of Clio and Whig are now performed. But the present reviewer, who is only an honorary Cliosophian, and as such little better than one of the outer world, can testify that he knows of few books on American college life which offer better reading. The story is in part the record of "battles long ago," for the ancient enmity between Clio and Whig has sunk into innocuous desuetude, and there is only the shadow of the solemn seriousness hanging about either of the institutions to-day which used to lend awful importance to their proceedings. What has a literary and debating society, however garnished with sociable mysteries, to offer as an offset to the prodigious battles of the football field? But it was not always so. The history of the country is filled with the names of those who began their career in one of the two societies, and some day the silent edifices may resume their sanctified power. After all, the avowed object of the Cliosophic Society, "the cultivation of friendship and the enlargement of the mind," is still the purpose of college life, though we sometimes forget the fact. Meanwhile we recommend Mr. Williams's book. Out of the dusty journals of Clio he has worked up a story that is not dry at all.

THE words rural economy comprise, in Pickwick's phrase, a difficult study of no inconsiderable magnitude, and one that in this day of high prices, comes home to the bosoms and business of all. In compiling his "Agricultural Economics" (University of Chicago Press; $2.75 net), a

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selection of materials "in which economic principles are applied to the practice of agriculture," Edwin G. Nourse writes particularly for college classes in this subject, but his work should be of fairly wide interest. In a thick volume of nine hundred pages he has brought together matter dealing with the rise of the new commercialized agriculture; with public consumption as related to the farmers' production; with the reclaiming of land and its conservation; with climate and agriculture; with the problem of the labor supply; with coöperation and organization, market methods and problems, transportation and storage, rural credits, land tenure, and so on. The sources vary from Mill, Ely, and Taussig to recent magazine articles, Federal and State documents occupying a prominent place, and all the selections are "alive" and interesting. The arrangement also is excellent.

London Gleanings

A COLLECTION of relics of the Brontë family being prepared for public sale shows to what length hero worship may be carried. Among the items is Emily Brontë's toilet comb solemnly certified to have been "used by her on the day of her death with some of the teeth burnt or broken away." Another lot is an oak chair from Top Withims Haworth, known to readers of Emily Brontë as Wuthering Heights. It is accompanied by a letter written on behalf of the widow of the original possessor, stating that "the Misses Brontë used often to come and see them and had sat in the chair"—whether both together or in succession deponent sayeth not. A choice lot enriched by the inevitable letter attesting their genuineness is "a kitchen table from Haworth Vicarage and a china teapot with pewter lid used in the kitchen."

There may be some justification for the enthusiasm that would invest these homely objects with a measure of sacredness. But when we come to a "lock of the hair of the Rev. P. Brontë, his spectacles, and a pair of his white clergyman's bands," we are certainly in the realm of bathos. The reverend gentleman was a surly, selfish recluse, who gave neither sympathy nor encouragement to his gifted daughters. Worse still is the offer of their brother's "walking stick of knotted wood" accompanied by a framed certificate that "the stick was given by Patrick Brontë to J. Briggs in the parlour of Black Bull Inn at Haworth"—probably for a pot of beer. Patrick Brontë was a drunken, dissolute reprobate, who gave years of pain and tribulation to his sisters. If he were still alive, his walking stick of knotted wood might be put to better deserved purpose than being submitted to auction in a London saleroom.

There is nothing—indeed nobody—new under the sun, not even the late Mr. Stead's counsellor and guide "Julia." It will be remembered how that mystic maiden forced herself upon the attention and into the confidence of a remarkably able, in all other relations of life exceptionally sane, man. In course of time, whenever in doubt or difficulty, he repaired to Julia, gravely recording conversations with her through the medium of spiritual agency. In a letter written more than a hundred years ago by Lady Desborough to the grandfather of the second Earl Granville, one of Queen Victoria's most esteemed Ministers, she refers to one Pierre Bonnet, "whose strange book" she is reading. The author was a French doctor who flourished between 1630 and 1708 and established high reputation as a writer on music and dancing. He believed himself haunted by a spirit he named Eliza, who gave him advice upon his daily actions and foretold what things, good or evil, awaited him in the near future. This must certainly have been Julia earlier practicing under a different name upon the credulity of another person.

The most noble Order of the Garter as originally founded was limited to twenty-five Knights Companions. It has since been extended for the inclusion of foreign princes and potentates such as the Kaiser. A year ago his banner and those of some other recreant Knights were solemnly taken down from the walls of the Chapel and hidden away. The latest accession to the noble Order is Prince Albert, who on his birthday quietly came up from Portsmouth to Buckingham Palace and was privately invested by the King with the coveted ribbon and insignia of the Order. In accordance with a statute added to the Book more than a century ago, all lineal descendants of George III are eligible for the Garter, and invariably are invested with it on their coming of age.

Mr. Gladstone and Sir William Harcourt were at one in their preference for the simple dignity of a Commoner over the style of the Peerage. Both were by personal favor of the reigning sovereign offered the opportunity of making a change. Queen Victoria, whose liking for Disraeli was paralleled only by her distaste for Gladstone—"He addresses me as if I were a public meeting," she with rare flash of humor once complained—more than once pressed a peerage on Gladstone's acceptance. The luring bait was as often declined. At the period of his corona-

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tion King Edward, who instinctively did graceful things, offered a peerage to Harcourt. In a manly letter the old Parliamentarian asked permission to decline the honor. His Majesty in a second autograph letter expressed the regret with which he acceded to the request.

Harcourt was justly proud of these two letters, which he was pleased to show to intimate friends. On his part the objection to a title of any kind was deeply rooted. When on the eve of Gladstone's fall in 1874 he and Henry James were made law officers of the Crown, posts which carry with them a knighthood, they approached the Premier and begged permission to remain with the plain prefix Mr. With advancing age Henry James got over the objection and died Lord James of Hereford, leaving his early colleague still Sir William. This pride in simplicity, which dominated the lives of Pitt, Peel, and Gladstone, has not proved to be hereditary. Sir Robert Peel's son, retiring from the Chair of the House of Commons, accepted a Viscountcy. On going out to the Cape as Governor, Gladstone's third son became a Viscount; and now the political world has been surprised to hear that Harcourt's eldest son has accepted the title his father declined. HENRY LUCY

London, December 30

Style and the Hour

STYLE as something to be deliberately cultivated or painfully mastered—the style of the "stylist"—has very little meaning for our generation. We are all for speaking straight out, in such accents as Providence may have bestowed upon us and our next-door neighbors. Stevenson is already marked as a back-number by his over-sedulous pursuit of the just word. For a writer like Hearn, with his niggling efforts at verbal perfection, we feel something very much like contempt. We think ourselves well rid of the elegances and artifices of the nineties, and take pride in our own robust and forthright way of putting things. No doubt the reaction is good and wholesome in its way. Tusitala might have been a bigger man without his affectations—or is it that a bigger man would not have been guilty of them? It is pleasant to think that the Yellow Books of our day appeal to a small and unrepresentative constituency. It is well that the writing man can no longer afford to mince his words or speak prettily.

But what, then, are we to expect of him? What, for that matter, are we getting from him? If he has thrown overboard his books, and his models, and his finicking ways, what remains for him to work with? Why, we answer, he has all that anybody needs, he has the honest tongue the Lord has given him. It is a good answer—so far as it goes. There is, for local purposes, such a tongue, which the whole neighborhood wags in common. It is handy for making our wants known, it asks for an egg and it calls for a policeman. It can express opinions, it believes that the Republican party is the right stuff, and that it is going to rain to-morrow. But, by itself, it cannot get us very much farther. When we say, "There, now, is a man who speaks simply and naturally," the chances are we are not paying a tribute to his expression of personality. We mean that he makes things easy for us, uses the current legal-tender. We think he speaks like himself, because he speaks like us. He is using the style of the spoken word—more narrowly the style of his community, or class, or nation. It does very well in speech, and suffers much from reduction to cold print. There something is lacking. The platitudes of the campaigner, so effective on the stump, are quickly "shown up" by the test of type. The truth is, an honest tongue is of no use except for talking. To make our ideas, or our stories, or our arguments effective in print, we have to dress them in something different from the vernacular—from your speech and my speech as it falls from us, crude and fragmentary, in the course of the day's journey. We have to give them the advantages of another kind of style, convey them by means of another kind of legal-tender, that of the printed word.

For the printed word has its own "literary" fashions and standards and models, whether it is conscious of them or not. Stevenson and others of his generation were strongly conscious of them, and used to look for them in books, the great books of the world. They imitated, they tried effects, they labored towards the perfection of a vehicle for their thoughts or their inventions. Greater writers have come by their practice of style more simply and normally, by association and instinct. But until recently the standards of style have been, on the whole, literary in the narrower sense. Writing men have looked to their elders and their betters for something to go by, if not to pattern after. But the style of our own hour, the style that "gets across" in the general estimation, prides itself upon having turned away from bookishness and shaped itself upon the vernacular. The process has been lauded in unexpected quarters. Scholars have risen to state that rules and precedents are as dust and ashes, and that whatever is said is right. Purism is a thing of mockery, subjunctives have gone by the board, shall and will no longer take the trouble to sidestep each other. The once coy infinitive does the split without embarrassment. And yet the sources of current style are not in the vernacular, they are still in the printed word: only it is the newspaper word, the magazine word, instead of the book word. British letters, for half a generation, have been in the hands of a group trained in journalism, who brought many of the tricks of journalism to their business of "authorship." It was as writers of timely copy that Messrs. Shaw, Wells, Bennett, Chesterton, Belloc contracted the brusque, clever, whimsical, jolting form of expression which is the accepted British style of the hour.

Things are much the same with us, though here the style appears to have been set largely by the Sunday newspapers and by the popular weeklies and monthlies upon which the Sunday newspaper has imposed its methods. One weekly of enormous circulation has had an especial influence in establishing this standard. It is famous for the snappiness, the punch, the vernacular picturesqueness of its style. It spurns restraint and elegance, and professes to employ the speech of the man in the street. Of course, it does not employ that speech. If it did, its vast popularity would vanish quickly enough. But it creates the illusion; and it gives the man in the street the delightful sense of being immensely clever himself. There is nothing here that he cannot comprehend, and he has a comfortable feeling that there is nothing here he might not have written. He is conscious of himself—with a style. It is a blend of an easy-going, buttonholing style with a rib-tickling, spine-jarring style. "O. Henry" perfected it, and is rightly hailed as master of, as it were, our populiterary generation. His slapdash talking vein, with its full head of humor and inexhaustible fount of verbal surprise, has filled a thousand

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pitchers. It is not the way we talk, but it is the way we should like to talk. "O. Henry" held his mirror up to nature, but, as no doubt he knew, it was a magic mirror. His special feat was to seize the vernacular, and to turn it into a fit conveyance for his genius. In his hands, the dulled counters of current slang became a bright, fresh coinage, a new and accredited legal-tender for the writing man. He discovered a style. We are rather suffering from that discovery, at the moment. There is an immense demand for the O. Henry kind of thing, and ten thousand near-Henrys are struggling to satisfy it. We shall get over the phase presently. What will be the next?

H. W. BOYNTON

Notes from the Capital

IDA TARBELL

WHEN the name of Miss Ida Minerva Tarbell was mentioned in connection with an appointment to the Tariff Commission, there were many who wondered. On charitable boards and art committees, in educational, sanitary, and correctional enterprises, women have often been conspicuous during the last generation or so, but here was a field into which they had not ventured before, except for purposes of protest against exorbitant duties on millinery, or a cruelly strict enforcement of the limit on free wearing apparel and personal effects by the customs inspectors at the passenger-steamship wharves. To what was Miss Tarbell's prominence due? To her suggestive middle name? To riding a horse and blowing a herald's trumpet in suffrage parades? To speeches at public meetings in favor of sex equality? To the encouragement of sewing girls' strikes as a means of industrial amelioration? To the Administration's desire to "do something for women" by way of atoning for its lack-lustre attitude towards the Anthony amendment? Obviously, to none of these, but to a position she had won by her unaided efforts in a great world where success wipes out all sex distinctions. If a very special reason were called for, it might be found in the fact that, though hundreds of writers have tried their hands at tariff criticism, Miss Tarbell has come nearer than any other to stripping a technical subject of its redundant technicalities, and reducing it to a point where the intelligent reader, though unlearned, can grasp it mentally. For she has both a well-whetted analytical faculty and a gift for popular interpretation—a combination rarely met with among the professional writers of the day.

Like so many other excellent modern products, Miss Tarbell took her rise in the heart of the oil regions. Titusville, Pa., was her birthplace, and Allegheny College her alma mater. No one who has spent enough time in that region to get a good taste of its atmosphere need be told how and why, even as a girl, she became interested in business and business methods, or what gave her the impulse to turn everything over and get a look at the side which does not lie bared to the casual gaze. It was while teaching in an Ohio school that the *Chautauquan* found her and drafted her into its editorial service; and it was her task of working up material for that magazine which discovered her liking for history and biography, and developed her desire to turn her predilection to account. Fascinated by the dramatic story of eighteenth-century France, she resolved to go to Paris and pursue it further on its own ground. The fact that her means were slender did not signify in the presence of this dominant wish. She knew that she could write fugitive articles and stories which others were glad to read; so, with fifty borrowed dollars in her pocket to keep things going till she could strike a remunerative pace, she started for the old world. For three years thereafter she attended lectures at the Sorbonne and the Collège de France, living frugally in Bohemian quarters and supporting herself by contributions to American newspapers and magazines, but with so narrow a margin for accident that she was once obliged to pawn her few valuables to tide over a period of waiting for a check from America that had been delayed in the mail.

Out of her French experience grew her lives of Napoleon and Madame Roland; and, having acquired the French biographical method, at the instance of S. S. McClure she undertook the life of Abraham Lincoln, gathering many of her original data from old neighbors of his who unconsciously gave a special flavor to their reminiscences by their inability to comprehend his expansion into a great historic figure. Next, her own early recollections of the oil fields came into play for a revelation of the modes of self-promotion followed by the Standard Oil Company, and the sordid and selfish side of that narrative set her to studying the American protective tariff laws, the intricacies and contradictions of which especially caught her attention and furnished an incentive for a series of papers setting forth for the first time in detail, and in language which he who reads as he runs can understand, the "wherefores" of the system that reached its zenith in the nineties.

If there is one thing more noticeable than another in Miss Tarbell's manner as a writer, it is her definiteness, whereas her most striking characteristic in personal intercourse is her moderation. Her whole appearance speaks this. Of good height and slender but strong figure, with a face well balanced in features and thoroughly feminine in cast, eyes that are both sincere and pleasant of expression, and a nicely modulated voice, there is not about her the slightest suggestion of "opinionation" as we commonly use the term. Yet, though a broad charity forbids her confusing men and things, her views on most public matters are positive to a degree. She has a kindly word for the personal character and honest intentions of Pig-Iron Kelley and his economic kindred, but this does not move her to spare the ruling tariff system on either its material or its moral side. It is the old story of loving the sinners—but hating the sin: she seems to regard the shortcomings of the former as the penalty they pay for getting upon the wrong track.

> The history of protection in this country [she says] is one long story of injured manhood. Tap it at any point, and you find it encouraging weak, base human traits—self-interest, self-deception, indifference to the claims of others. . . . This, then, is the kind of man the protective system as we practice it encourages; a man unwilling to take his chances in a free world struggle; a man whose own sense of propriety and loyalty has been so perverted that he is willing to treat the Congress of the United States as an adjunct to his business, one who regards freedom of speech as a menace, and the quality of his product of less importance than its quantity.

Were a question to come before a Tariff Commission with Miss Tarbell in its membership, which involved the determination of the future tariff policy of the United States in a fundamental way, could there be much question where one vote would go?

TATTLER

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Reviews of Plays

"SEREMONDA"

ROMANTIC drama in poetical form is not so usual today that it may be passed over in silence, even though the piece under consideration is not especially promising. In going back to France of the troubadours and the crusaders Mr. William Lindsey, the author, was assured in advance of an attitude on the part of the audience touched by glamour and credulity. He has handled this material with the proper feeling, and the blank verse without being obtrusive gives the right flavor of antiquity. Why the play with these assets is not more impressive than it is is involved in that long-standing question, What makes a play really "go"? In the present instance the main situation is theoretically gripping. Raimon, Count of Roussillon, a man, like his ancestors, of fiery temperament, had, two years previous to the action of the play, murdered a bridegroom at the altar and kidnapped the bride and then to atone for the crime had fought for the Cross in Palestine. His young wife he had put in the keeping of a trusted vassal, Guilhem. The inevitable happens when the two, left together, fall in love and provide an intense situation upon the homecoming of the Count, who in fact had been reported dead. If the resemblance to the episode of Paolo and Francesca were not so patent, it is possible that Mr. Lindsey's invention might have achieved its full effect. For whatever reason, the action was followed by the audience with only mild interest, and the attention which should be given to the tragedy was dissipated by the entertaining appurtenances. Under the lavish management of Miss Julia Arthur, who is Seremonda, these are richly cared for. The scenes are lovely, the troubadours well picked, and there are jugglers, contortionists, etc., to win back the fashions of those older days. F.

"HER HUSBAND'S WIFE"

HENRY MILLER'S revival of A. E. Thomas's play, "Her Husband's Wife," at the Lyceum Theatre gives lovers of genuine comedy such an opportunity of gratifying their taste as they do not have with any great frequency. The piece has plot, characters, and dialogue, and is, moreover, interpreted by a company most of whose members, especially those having the chief rôles, know their business. Miss Laura Hope Crews gave a most capable representation of the hypochondriac, Irene Randolph, who, in anticipation of her approaching demise, has planned for a suitable consort for her husband when that event has occurred. Her choice is her friend, Emily Ladew, represented with characteristic skill by Miss Marie Tempest. After recovering from the shock which Mrs. Randolph's announcement of the plan not unnaturally gives her, she agrees to undertake the task of making herself agreeable to John. Being a vigorous rather than a winning person, she is not over-confident of success—nor is the spectator. But nobody is more surprised than Mrs. Randolph at the instant way in which the two agree, their loud laughter at each other's remarks, inaudible to the others, being but one of the more conspicuous signs of their sudden camaraderie. Mrs. Randolph's surprise is mixed with a less agreeable emotion, as the possibilities of the situation develop. But there is another main complication. Miss Ladew, whose dowdiness grows rapidly and beautifully less, has been engaged to Mrs. Randolph's brother Richard, who is staying with the Randolphs. The engagement has been broken, but here obviously is the thread that is to pull all straight at the end. It must not do so too soon, however, and the consequence is two acts of comedy and one act of an unfortunately more farcical nature. Mention should be made of the uncle, John Belden, who is dragooned into the delicate task of assisting Mrs. Randolph to tell Miss Ladew of her plan and to carry it out. His repeated embarrassments are one of the minor amusing features of a play which is at once diverting and not intellectually barren. R. J. D.

"THE LODGER"

UNHERALDED, a genuinely amusing comedy, "The Lodger," a dramatization of Mrs. Belloc Lowndes's book of the same name, by Horace Annesley Vachell, came to Maxine Elliott's Theatre on Monday of last week. It provides a refreshing contrast to several well-advertised importations from England which have recently failed. The situations invite hearty laughter without straining the imagination, and while from the first you are sure that the mystery surrounding this unusual lodger in the Bloomsbury boarding house will in the end be satisfactorily solved, it is not in the least evident by what means this will be accomplished. We may give a hint of the plot by explaining that the wanderings of this character by night in search of the homeless and hungry, to whom he presents buns concealing gold pieces, are misinterpreted by Scotland Yard, and that he is thus connected with a series of grewsome crimes. However, he emerges in good order, with a fiancée in the person of the "lady" lodger.

As the lodger Mr. Lionel Atwill was acceptable. It was to Miss Beryl Mercer as the kindhearted, bewildered landlady that the honors of the evening were given. Hers was a remarkable performance. L. P.

"'CEPTION SHOALS"

NOVELTY has become the order of the day upon the stage. It is not novelty of ideas, but of material and setting. Whether, as used to be thought, this is to be taken as a symptom of bankruptcy or merely as an outgrowth of progress in mechanics is a question. The curtain rises in "'Ception Shoals" on a yacht that has run aground a hundred miles off shore in the Pacific. Aboard is the owner, a young visionary, who has with him, besides an ugly captain, an unmarried girl about to become a mother, whom he has rescued from disgrace. Of a sudden there emerges from out the night a maiden in a bathing-suit who has swum the two miles from a lighthouse, whose intermittent red beacon may be seen. She, poor thing, has all her life been imprisoned in the lighthouse with her crotchety grandfather, who has interpreted his religion to mean that any relation between the sexes is sin. In consequence, she had only once before seen any man but him. Now, however, she is introduced not only to the owner of the yacht, but, owing to the condition of the woman passenger, to the secrets of sex, and at once all her innate motherly instincts are reinforced. The scene shifts to the lighthouse, and in the persons of the keeper and the yachtsman are contrasted ultra-conventionalism and nature freed of restraints. Tragedy has its way when the

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yachtsman, returning to the lighthouse after some years and believing the girl to be dead, is kept from her by a ruse of the grandfather. This situation in itself has the most intense emotional possibilities, and ought, if the play had had real vitality, to have gained its effect. The comparative calmness with which it was received by the audience is a sufficient proof that the author, Mr. Austin Adams, has not been successful.

The acting of Nazimova, though a trifle uneven, was at times extremely able. It was through no fault of hers that the climax did not fulfil the possibilities. F.

"THE LIFE OF MAN"

THE Washington Square Players were ill-advised in presenting this week Leonid Andreyev's pseudo-morality "The Life of Man." There was to be sure evidence among the audience that certain jaded tastes found palatable morsels. The play exhibits, aside from execrable brutality in the first act, nothing but a hopeless sort of nihilism. Man and his wife are puppets having no sense of responsibility and passing their brief span in the presence of crushing natural forces. It is as if Shakespeare in "King Lear" had confined himself to the scene on the heath. As this drama has been previously reviewed in the *Nation*, it is enough to say that any performance of it cannot reverse the impression of its futility created by reading it in the printed page. F.

Finance

STATE SECRETS AND THE STOCK EXCHANGE

THE fiasco of the Rules Committee's investigation of the "leak in the President's note" was what every experienced person had expected in advance. The general public itself lost interest in the matter, even when the House of Representatives undertook solemnly to continue the inquiry. The truth is that official secrets, whether of public documents, of State Department policies, or of Supreme Court opinions, have often got into outside hands; the chances for such a thing being very numerous. There are usually typewriters, sometimes confidential secretaries, and almost always printers, through whose hands a document must pass while still an official secret.

Such "leaks" have frequently occurred when the individuals responsible for them had no purpose of betrayal. An inadvertent word, a quick inference by a shrewd correspondent, a lawyer's impression from a remark of the Court, has often done the work. There is one well-known Washington story of two women, wives of two Supreme Court Justices, who compared notes regarding their husbands' work on a certain important court opinion, believing themselves to be alone, yet when a woman correspondent was behind the pillar against which they sat.

Once any such information has leaked out, the Stock Exchange is the place which quite inevitably responds to it. About this, also, there has never been any mystery. A great part of the traditional value of the stock market as the foreshadower of events lies in the well-known fact that all information tends to it, and always has so tended. This is not only so with regard to outright betrayals of official secrets; it has often, especially in European politics and finance, been a consequence of information necessarily laid before banking houses by the statesmen. In many cases of that sort, the resultant selling on the Stock Exchange (from which watchers of the market drew conclusions as to what was in the wind) was an essential part of the preparation for a new public loan.

Of all historic traditions referring to the use on the Stock Exchange of prior and secret information regarding public events, none is more famous than the story referred to last week by a gentleman who had been present at Secretary Lansing's talk with the correspondents regarding the coming diplomatic note. He thus stated his impression of what he had heard:

> I could instantly see that the information was the greatest advance financial news since the founder of the house of Rothschild galloped away from Waterloo to bear the news of Napoleon's defeat to his group in London.

The complete "Rothschild story," with which this somewhat foolish comparison is made, told of the banker's arrival in London; his appearance on the Stock Exchange with mud-stained boots and with gloom and depression on his face; his selling of consols; their violent decline, and Rothschild's enormous purchases on the break, through a number of secret agents.

The story is so picturesque that one is reluctant to discredit it. But the newspapers of the period are better evidence than books of anecdotes, and, as a matter of fact, the first news of Waterloo did not come to London through Rothschild. It was on the evening of June 18, 1815, that Napoleon was defeated. For days the most confused rumors had circulated, and as late as the morning of the 20th the London *Times* referred to "a brief and unintelligible report in France," which had reached London the day before, and which asserted that Bonaparte had "attacked his Grace [Wellington] and Marshal Blücher united, and had completely defeated them." This exaggerated rumor undoubtedly referred to the defeat of Blücher at Ligny by Napoleon on June 16—of which event Paris actually learned long before London did.

On the 21st, however, the *Times* published this in form of a double-leaded editorial:

> Yesterday morning [June 20] the town was filled with animation by intelligence that the campaign had been opened in a manner most glorious to the British and allied arms. The first and fullest account was brought by Mr. Sutton, a gentleman from Colchester, who we understand to be the proprietor of the passage vessels sailing between that place and Ostend. He was at Ostend when the official news of this great event arrived there, and with great zeal and alacrity ordered one of his vessels to sea without waiting for passengers, and made the best of his way to town, to relieve the anxiety of the Government and the public.

Mr. Sutton's story, as the *Times* repeated it, not only covered the Duchess of Richmond's ball and the incident of the Belgians and the Brunswickers (who were described as receiving the French attack "with the greatest gallantry"), but it described the charge of the Imperial Guard at the climax of the battle and the junction of Wellington and Blücher; adding:

> The battle raged until 10 at night, when the French were reluctantly compelled to retire before their antagonists. Before Mr. Sutton came away, the cannonading in the line of retreat showed that the French troops had sought refuge within their own frontier.

The completeness of the victory, as may be judged from this citation, was not known in London until the following day, when Wellington's official dispatch, dated June 19,

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was received by the British Government. These contemporary particulars wholly disprove the Rothschild legend. Yet the origin of that story may be fairly guessed. Rothschild very possibly sold stocks on the rumors of the 19th. Very probably he bought them on Mr. Sutton's news from Waterloo on the 20th. Financial London's version of such conduct was the picturesque tradition which survived—as similar versions of similar occurrences sometimes survive on Wall Street. All speculative markets are apt to prefer a remote explanation to a perfectly obvious one.

Academic Societies

THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS

THE second annual meeting of the American Association of University Professors, held at Columbia University, December 28-30, afforded abundant evidence of the labor which the officers, notably the president and secretary, had given to perfecting the organization of the Association during the past year. A long and detailed programme, carefully worked out, was carried through with commendable promptness, and at the same time with all needed opportunity for deliberation and debate. It is certainly a notable achievement that a body of scholars, who, however well-knitted along lines of technical or professional interest, had as yet developed little sense of professorial solidarity as a whole, should now, in the short space of two years, be firmly united in a national organization, and fairly launched upon an elaborate programme of investigation and work.

The main work of the year, aside from the multitudinous details which have fallen to the lot of the secretary, has been the organization of committees, the list of which, including those previously created, now numbers eighteen. The range of titles is significantly wide. In addition to academic freedom and tenure, methods of appointment and promotion, and recruitment of the profession through scholarships and fellowships —subjects which were among the first to engage the attention of the Council—the list includes the classification of universities and colleges; causes and remedies for the alleged decline in the intellectual interests of college students; the desirability and practicability of increased migration and interchange of graduate students; university ethics; distinctions between the several honorary degrees, and the basis for conferring them; the utilization of the Federal Government bureaus for graduate university work, and in particular the proposed Federal university at Washington; exchange professorships and fellowships with Latin-American universities; recommendations of the second Pan-American Scientific Congress involving university activities; a handbook of American universities and colleges; standardization of requirements for the degree of Ph.D.; pensions and life insurance for professors; qualifications for membership; local chapters or groups, and a coöperative schedule for the places of annual meetings of this and other societies.

The president of the Association, Prof. John H. Wigmore, in his report (printed in advance in the November *Bulletin*), achieved a veritable *tour de force* in surveying comprehensively each of these important fields. His comments and suggestions, supplemented by printed reports from several of the committees and by informal reports of progress from others, offer a fertile field for discussion, only a small part of which can be considered here. The committee on academic freedom and tenure, whose five printed reports on situations in as many different institutions were properly characterized by Professor Wigmore as "weighty documents, which would do credit to any judicial court in the world," has continued to give attention to such cases as have come to its notice, and has rendered an inconspicuous but influential service in the way of friendly advice. If the rights of professors, legal or moral, are better safeguarded to-day than they were two years ago, it is largely due to the wise, thorough, and conservative action of this committee. The correction of existing evils in appointment and promotion involves, as Professor Wigmore pointed out, a consideration not only of the whole structure of university organization, but also of the spirit of the institution and the personality at its head. Competition and publicity in the award of graduate fellowships; the classification of institutions on lines distinctly broader and more rational than those at first adopted by the Association of American Universities, together with efforts to secure a more generous recognition of American degrees abroad; encouragement of the migration of graduate students; an evaluation of the implications of the various honorary degrees; the standardization of professional degrees and the "valorization" of foreign degrees, were further suggestions contained in the president's report.

On one or two points the recommendations invite, and doubtless will evoke, helpful questioning. In discussing the work of the committee on academic freedom, Professor Wigmore took occasion to "repudiate the notion that this Association is an occupational union, which seeks to defend its members by a 'We Don't Patronize' list, or by any other form of coercion." The same view was expressed by Professor Ross, of the University of Wisconsin, chairman of the committee on resolutions, in another connection; and it is probable that many members concur in the opinion. On the other hand, the efforts made during the year to increase the membership of the Association, together with the suggestion of Professor Wigmore that "scientific productivity" be omitted from the constitutional statement of qualifications for membership, and that "an appointment to a faculty in some approved list of institutions" should constitute "*prima-facie* evidence of the possession of the prescribed qualifications," would appear to make the conditions of membership in the Association more akin to those of a trade union, all of whose members are assumed to be of equal competency, than to those of a society of really competent scholars and teachers. It is true, as was pointed out, that the precedents of professional associations, like those of law and medicine, favor a policy of inclusiveness; but it is also true that no generally recognized test of fitness has yet been applied to professorial appointments or promotions, that the struggle for survival in a university often lacks the regulating influence of competition, and that college or university teaching is one of the few respectable occupations in this country that can continue to be practiced by a man who has failed. The committee on qualifications, while unable to agree with President Wigmore that the requirement of "scientific productivity," admittedly hard to define, should be dropped, very wisely opposed also a suggestion that the requirement of "recognized scholarship" be regarded as satisfied in every case by the endorsement of three colleagues—a procedure which, as the committee pointed out, "would mean the practical abandonment of the requirement." The recommendation of the committee, approved by the Association, was that, for the present, ten years' service in any of the 119 colleges and universities approved by the Association of American Universities in 1913, together with the endorsement of three colleagues, should be regarded as raising "a presumption of recognized scholarship."

Another debatable question has to do with the work of the numerous committees. Most of the committees, as such things go, are exceptionally large, and their membership, as a rule, is widely scattered. Professor Wigmore, in his report, urged that the Association must be prepared to transact much of its business by correspondence, rather than by "brief and expensive personal meetings"; but as he was obliged, elsewhere in the same report, to admit "the repeated failure of various members of the Council to vote on proposals submitted," it is not clear how the committees are to avoid the same or a similar evil. On the other hand, the encouraging development of local or regional branches of the Association, more than forty of which have been formed, may, by its obvious tendency to transform the annual meeting into a delegate body, help to solve the committee problem also.

A searching criticism of the recent proposals of the Carnegie Foundation regarding pensions, submitted in print by the committee on pensions and insurance, was accompanied by a statement of the creation, by the Foundation, of a special commission, on which the Association is represented, for further study of the subject. Included in the documents appended to the report was an able presentation of the case, from the standpoint of the Association, by Professor Seligman, who properly urged that, in the formulation of any projected scheme, the "ultimate beneficiaries," namely, instructors them-

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selves, as well as universities and colleges as such, be represented, as "the surest way of . . . retaining unimpaired the confidence of American teachers in the good faith, the wisdom, and the beneficence" of the Foundation.

Committee resolutions strongly adverse to the Fess bill to create a national university at Washington, or to the establishment of any such Federal institution, whether granting degrees or not, provoked considerable discussion, and were finally replaced by a resolution calling for delay until the whole question shall have received fuller public consideration. A committee on the compilation of a handbook of American colleges and universities reported that, for financial reasons, this much-needed undertaking was not at present practicable. Among new committees authorized were one on summer schools, another on the place and function of faculties in university government and administration, and a third on the encouragement of research. A proposal to consider the case of Mr. Bertrand Russell, reported upon adversely by the committee on resolutions, was referred to the Council for action.

Six numbers of the *Bulletin* of the Association, containing reports of committees, the presidential report, and other matter of interest to members, have been issued during the year, in addition to printed reports of the committee on academic freedom and tenure. The election of 580 new members brings the total membership to about two thousand. The new president is Prof. Frank Thilly, of Cornell. W. M.

THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS

THE annual meeting of the Society was held at Haverford College on December 27-28, and despite two days of distressing weather, the meeting enrolled probably the largest attendance in the Society's history.

An exeptionally interesting number of papers were presented. With the very full programme there was felt the usual drawback of all such gatherings that not enough time is given to discussion from the floor, and the question is raised whether there might not be a selection made of more important topics and discussion provided for. The Presidential Address was given by Dr. Jastrow (Pennsylvania), on "Constructive Elements in the Critical Study of the Old Testament." Dr. Jastrow reviewed the history of that criticism, indicated its triumph as proved by its general acceptance by scholars, but allowed the truth in the contention that criticism is too often *merely destructive*, and that it comes to be regarded as an end in itself. But a new trend is now visible, that of the utilization of all the analyzed factors and their reconstruction for illuminating the various ages and phases of thought through the whole period. The writer emphasized in the main two factors, the utilization of tradition by criticism and the study of the social evolution of the Hebrews in connection with the political and religious development. Criticism has not finished when it has analyzed the strata of a document. The tradition underlying every stratum and the theory which compiled these strata are equally sources of history. He illustrated his thesis from the results of the study of the Mosaic tradition, whether Moses is to be regarded as a religious founder or a legislator. Constructive scholarship now feels forced to recognize that that tradition is true in postulating a Moses, and instead of scorning is eagerly utilizing every strand of tradition. Even the social and religious legislation, which in its present compilation is post-exilic, contains large elements which lead back to the Mosaic period and corroborate the Mosaic tradition as an historic fact. Similarly, the study of the laws and religious practices, after a sifting of these among their relative ages, reveals the development of Israel's society law, and ethics from the earliest to the latest times.

On the afternoon of the first day several interesting subjects of general archæological interest were presented. Dr. Haupt (Johns Hopkins) read a characteristically interesting and widely informed paper on "Alcohol in the Bible." He gave a revised text and translation of the satire on drunkenness in Proverbs 23, which showed indubitably that genuine *Katzenjammer* is a very ancient affliction. Dr. Peters (New York) gave some valuable suggestions on "The Worship of Tammuz" drawn from his experiencces of the Babylonian seasons. He held that this worship was originally connected with the planting and so with the death of the seeds of the crops. Dr. Barton (Bryn Mawr) in a paper on "The Evolution of the Ashera," maintained that this symbol was developed from the palm tree, basing his contention on the designs of Babylonian seals and Phœni-Punic *cippi:* he held that the *hammam* or sun pillar had an identical origin.

There were an unusual number of interesting illustrated topics, the evening being devoted to several of these. Dr. Benzinger (Meadville Seminary), known to a wide public as the editor of Baedeker's invaluable handbook on Palestine, gave a talk on "Life in Palestine, Past and Present," illustrating the unchangeableness of Oriental customs. Professor Moulton (Bangor Seminary) gave three illustrated talks on discoveries he had made in Palestine when Director of the American School. In treating a Greek inscription at the site of ancient Cæsarea, which had been seen and only imperfectly interpreted by predecessors, he was able to date precisely, with great probability, its age as of the time of Justinian, and to show from a reference in the text that there existed still in that most Christian emperor's reign a building in Cæsarea which was known as the Hadrianeum, *i. e.*, a pagan temple of Hadrian's foundation. This reference indicates the probable persistence of paganism in Syria down into the sixth century. Dr. Fullerton (Oberlin) presented a number of pictures which he had taken in the Lebanon and Jerusalem, during his connection with the Jerusalem School two years ago. He gave the first pictures that have appeared in this country of Captain Weil's excavations on the Ophel Hill, and also some illustrations of the bringing of the Holy Banner into Jerusalem when the Turks and Germans proclaimed the Jihad. Dr. Sartell Prentice gave a unique series of pictures, taken by himself, of the wonderful Sik, or narrow cañon which leads into Petra, a defile which has been the despair of photographers.

Of other Old Testament papers may be noted that of Dr. Cobb (Boston) on "Some General Considerations of the Text of Hosea—iv-xiv." He insisted on the criteria of several marked stylisms of the prophet's thought which must be observed in testing the genuineness of this difficult book. He was bold enough to maintain that the prophet could write in prose as well as in poetry, and that he could not be trimmed to suit modern ideas of Hebrew metrics. Dr. Fullerton gave a good example of critical method in his treatment of the criticism of Isaiah vii, 14-17.

In the field of the New Testament the following papers may be signalized: Dr. Stearns (Fargo College) gave the results of his collation and study of the papyrus and vellum fragments of the New Testament. He held that these supported the text preferred by Westcott and Hort. Dr. Bacon (Yale) gave a critical study of Matthew i, 18-25. Proceeding from the criticism started by the Sinaitic Syriac, he tried to present the accretions and jointings which have produced the present fuller text. He held that the story of the annunciation belonged to the original form of the Gospel, and that vv. 22ff were added to conform the story to the later theology of the birth. Dr. Heffern (Philadelphia Divinity School) discussed the moot passage, Acts v, 13, which Dr. Torrey has recently attempted to explain from a misunderstanding on the part of Luke of his Aramaic original. Dr. Heffern plausibly suggested a corruption in the Greek text, reading, "and none dared to *punish* them."

Much amusement was created by the editor of the Society's *Journal*, Dr. Margolis, who read a communication from the Third Assistant Postmaster-General of the United States, who was not able to discover that the *Journal* should be listed as "scientific," in order to obtain second-class rates. Is this a pious Administration's blow at Higher Criticism?

Officers were elected as follows: President, Dr. Moulton (Bangor); Vice-President, Dr. Montgomery (Philadelphia Divinity School); Recording Secretary, Dr. Cadbury (Haverford); Treasurer, Dr. Prince (Columbia); Corresponding Secretary, Dr. Margolis (Dropsie College), and his associates on the Editorial Committee, Dr. Porter (Yale) and Dr. Fowler (Brown).

In connection with these sessions was held the annual meeting of the Managers of the American School at Jerusalem. Much interest was shown in the prospects of the School's opportunities upon the end of the war, and steps were taken to inaugurate a campaign to enable the School to enter promptly and with proper equipment upon its field of work.

J. A. M.

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BOOKS OF THE WEEK

FICTION

Bellamy, F. R. The Balance. Doubleday, Page. $1.35 net.
Nexo, M. A. Pelle the Conqueror—Daybreak. Holt. $1.50 net.
Waste, H. Philosophy: An Autobiographical Fragment. Longmans, Green. $1.25 net.

BIOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

Creevey, C. A. S. A Daughter of the Puritans. Putnam. $1.50 net.
Doyle, A. C. A History of the Great War. Vol. I—The British Campaign in France and Flanders, 1914. Doran. $2 net.

SCIENCE

Gardner, M. S. Public Health Nursing. Macmillan. $1.75 net.
Lamson, A. T. My Birth. Macmillan. $1.75 net.

DRAMA AND MUSIC

Representative American Plays. Edited by A. H. Quinn. Century. $2.75 net.

TEXTBOOKS

Bassett, L. E. A Handbook of Oral Reading. Houghton Mifflin. $1.60 net.
Fite, E. D. History of the United States. Holt.
Prokosch, E. Deutscher Lehrgang. Holt.

FITE'S
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RICHARD G. BADGER, Publisher, BOSTON

THE CHRISTIAN ETHIC OF WAR
By the REV. P. T. FORSYTH, M.A., D.D., Principal of Hackney College. 8vo. Pp. x+196. $2.00 *net.*
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Summary of the News

PEACE is not perceptibly nearer fruition, but the general feeling seems to be that the ground has been cleared by the Allies' reply to President Wilson's note. At any rate, the Allies experienced none of the embarrassment that Germany appears to have felt in responding to the President's invitation to set down in black and white the objects for which they were fighting. Their joint note was forwarded by Ambassador Sharp from Paris, under date of January 10, and was published in the papers of January 12. At the same time the Government of Belgium took occasion to address a separate note to the President reciting the particular wrongs suffered by that unhappy country. To the Allies also, in their joint note, the President's invitation affords an admirable opportunity, admirably used, for rehearsing again the various counts in the indictment against Germany. Briefly summarized, their terms of peace are: the evacuation of all conquered territory, with indemnities for damage; guarantees against future attacks; restitution of Alsace-Lorraine (clearly pointed to in the words, "of provinces or territories wrested in the past from the Allies by force or against the will of their populations"); liberation of Italians, Slavs, Rumanians, and Tcheco-Slovaques from foreign domination; enfranchisement of populations subject to the Turk, and the expulsion of the Ottoman Empire from Europe.

THE effect of the note, wh generally favorable in this country, was certainly r ired by the simultaneous publication of the German ressed to neutral Governments commenting on the re e Entente to the German peace proposals. The pettis this Teutonic declaration is sufficiently characterized editorial review of the two communications. It is wort ing, too, as tribute to the intrinsic merit of the Allied President Wilson that it won favor in spite of the du in which it was wrapped. Whoever was responsible f English translation of the original French produced a almost unbelievable clumsiness. In England satisfacti the tone of the note and the general belief that it has e the Allies to "score" heavily in the diplomatic game seen ve effectually dissipated any lingering resentment over t erference" of President Wilson. In Germany the pres ttle too unanimously shrill on the subject to avoid the on of responding to the conductor's bâton. The Kaiser led the orchestra with the issue of a proclamation to an people on January 13, assuring his subjects that t the Allies, as embodied in their note, was "the crushi ermany, the dismemberment of the Powers allied with the enslavement of the freedom of Europe and the sea

COMPLETING the reco diplomatic exchanges on the question of peace we may mention the receipt by Washington of a note from King Constantine endorsing the President's efforts and incidentally taking occasion to protest against his own treatment by the Allies (January 9); of a note from the Chinese Government, also approving President Wilson's move (January 11), and of one from Austria (January 12) in regard to the reply of the Entente to the Teutonic peace proposals, following the same lines as the German document, but paying particular attention to the situation between Austria and Servia. A statement replying to the German and Austrian notes to neutrals was issued, with authority, in London on January 13. One point made in the statement, in assigning responsibility for the war, is that four days elapsed between Germany's rejection of the proposal for a conference and Russia's order for general mobilization.

AMBASSADOR GERARD, in a speech at Berlin last week, considerably rippled the diplomatic waters by declaring that "never since the beginning of the war have the relations between Germany and the United States been as cordial as now," and added his conviction that so long as the present heads of administration remained in office in Germany those relations would continue undisturbed. The speech has been variously interpreted—as a threat and as an approach. Most probably it was simply an indiscretion. At any rate the State Department cabled the Ambassador to send a verbatim report of his speech, and there the matter rests for the present.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE, newly returned from the Allied conference in Rome, took part in a meeting at the Guildhall on January 11 to launch the new British loan. The new issue, unlimited in amount, gives the option of a 5 per cent. taxable loan at 95, or a tax-compounded loan, paying 4 per cent., at par. Both loans will be free of income tax if held outside the United Kingdom.

GREECE has been the recipient of the customary ultimatum and appears to have returned the customary evasive reply. A note was apparently drawn up at the conference at Rome and dispatched to Athens demanding prompt compliance with the demands previously made. The Greek reply seems to have been satisfactory so far as it went, but not to have gone quite far enough. The fact has been brought to the attention of the royal Government, and meanwhile the blockade continues.

ANOTHER Cabinet crisis, still somewhat obscure both in cause and in effect, has occurred in Russia. M. Trepoff, the Premier, and Count Ignatieff, Minister of Public Instruction, resigned on January 9. Prince Golitzin, a member of the extreme Conservative group, succeeds to the Premiership. Recent dispatches indicate that the reactionaries are again firmly in the saddle, and that government through the Duma is as far distant as ever. Vigorous prosecution of the war is, however, announced by the new Premier as his sole programme.

SUBMARINES have been e than usually active, but the torpedoing of a Sp sel called forth early last week a sharp protest from sh Government, which has occasioned from the Germa natural resentment at "a one-sided attitude." The ca e U-41, described in Germany as "a second Baralong ," has been revived by the publication, on January 13, official report of the German officer who, having sur menacing fists of a British sailor and other attempted s of international law, has lived to write an impressi count of the adventure in neutral Switzerland.

MILITARY operations in ania have progressed with Teutonic efficiency, the R ns having everywhere retired beyond the Sereth. Th pture of Vadeni was announced in Sunday's bulletins alatz seems likely to fall. A diversion which may hold c able promise has, however, been created in the Riga dis here the Russians last week started a powerful drive. derable advance was made at the first onslaught, and the ure has been continued with such strength that it is quit ble a noticeable effect may be produced on the situation umania. British successes have been reported from Egyp d Mesopotamia of such a nature as to make certain the security of the Suez Canal.

THE famous "leak" inqui in Washington has undergone too many vicissitudes to record, even were they worth recording. The upshot of the matter was that the committee opened the week armed with all the powers that Congress could think of for the wresting of secrets from the human bosom, but a little nervous lest some name might be mentioned that would be diplomatically unfortunate.

MEXICO remains a problem for the President to deal with according to his best judgment. After four months of unavailing effort the Joint Commission was formally dissolved on Monday, no definite solution of the riddle having been reached. The American Commissioners recommend to the President the sending of an Ambassador to Mexico to resume the negotiations undertaken by the Commission.

EXPLOSIONS occurred last week in two munition plants in New Jersey. On January 11 the plant of the Canadian Car and Foundry Company, near Kingsland, was completely destroyed, with a loss estimated at $17,000,000. The plant was manufacturing shells for the Russian Government, and these were exploding almost continuously for some hours. On the following day several hundred thousand pounds of smokeless powder blew up at the du Pont powder works at Haskell. An anti-Ally origin for the explosions has been suspected but not confirmed. Similar charges were recalled when, on January 10, the German Consul in San Francisco, the Vice-Consul, and two employees of the Consul's office were found guilty by a Federal Court jury of violation of neutrality.

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